



INSULARITY & IDENTITY *in the Roman Mediterranean*

EDITED BY ANNA KOUREMENOS
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY NICHOLAS PURCELL



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Insularity and Identity in the Roman Mediterranean

Edited by
Anna Kouremenos

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Front cover: Mosaic fragment depicting two men on a boat. From Carthage, AD 200-250. Courtesy of Penn Museum, image # 3348.

Back cover: General View of the 2nd Century AD South Building, Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, Kourion, Cyprus (Photo: J. M. Gordon).

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Preface

This volume had its beginnings in a TRAC panel I organised at the University of Reading, UK in March 2014. Since my own doctorate at the University of Oxford concentrated on houses and identity on the island of Crete under Roman rule, I thought it would be worthwhile to consider how other Mediterranean islands conceptualised their own identities in the Roman period *vis-à-vis* their insularities.

The aim of this volume is to discern, through several case studies, similarities and differences between the islands of the eastern and western parts of the Roman Empire and to investigate how insular environments, mobility, connectivity and materiality affected the development and maintenance of social and cultural identities throughout the Roman period. The papers are arranged geographically from east to west and the case studies focus on four large islands – Cyprus, Crete, Sardinia and Corsica – and four island groups – the Northern Sporades, the Ionian Islands, the Dalmatian Islands, and Malta (including Gozo).

In my endeavour, a great number of people have provided information, advice, and encouragement and it is with much gratitude that I would like to thank them here. In addition to the contributors, who worked tirelessly to finish articles on time and provided many useful comments about the topic, I am grateful to Nicholas Purcell, Ewen Bowie, Dragana Mladenovic, Michael Vickers, and Craig Barker for fruitful discussions on insularity and identity and for help in tracking down references and illustrations. I am also indebted to Maxine Anastasi for her generosity in preparing maps for this book and Vasiliki Brouma for coming to my aid with images. The libraries of the following institutions provided much needed help in locating published material: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, The British School at Athens, The Scuola Italiana di Atene, The Archaeological Society at Athens, and The Sackler Library, University of Oxford. Finally, the editorial team at Oxbow books – Julie Gardiner, Isobel Nettleton, Katie Allen, and Mette Bundgaard – provided much needed assistance and comments throughout.

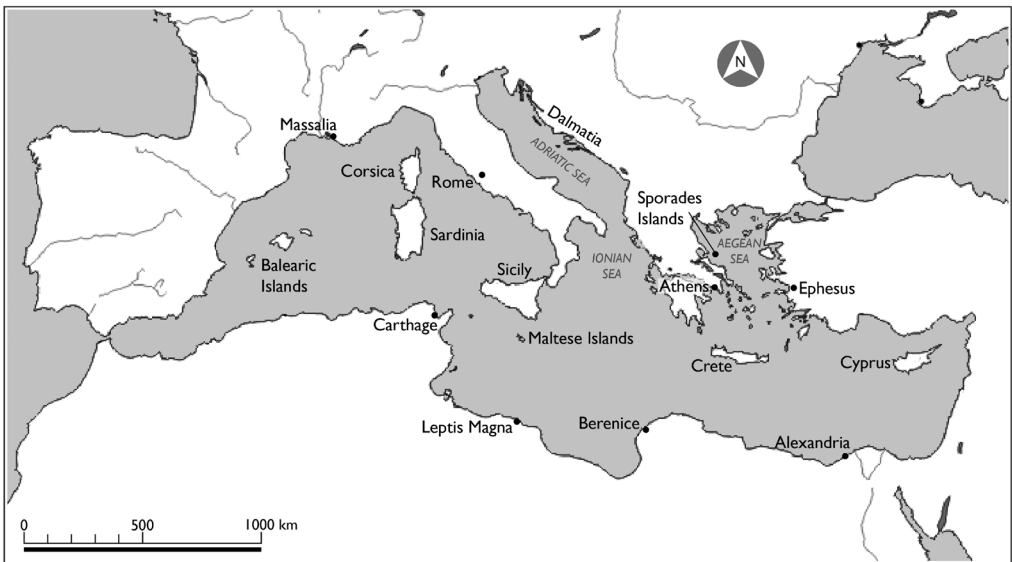
I would like to dedicate this volume to the memory of my mother, Lili Kouremenos.

Anna Kouremenos
New Haven, April 2018

Chapter 1

Introduction

Anna Kouremenos



Map of the Mediterranean with islands featured in this volume (Map: Maxine Anastasi)

Insularity – the state or condition of being an island – has played a key role in shaping the identities of populations inhabiting various islands of the Mediterranean. The socially recognised differences expressed by people living on islands are a form of self-identification created within a particular space and time. People inhabiting large and small islands, including island archipelagos, often present unique identities derived from both interconnectivity and isolation. As entities surrounded by water and often possessing different landscapes and ecosystems from those of the mainland, islands allow for the potential to study both the land and the sea. Archaeologically, they have the capacity to reveal distinct identities shaped by such forces as invasion, imperialism, colonialism, and connectivity.

Although islands have long fascinated anthropologists and archaeologists from Margaret Mead to Colin Renfrew, it has only been since the early 2000s that Mediterranean archaeologists have considered islanders' role within the networks of the Roman empire. Much of the scholarship has focused on pre-Roman and especially Bronze Age insularities, but similar parameters can be applied to insularity during the Roman period. Following the work of Renfrew, Cherry, and others, studies like van Dommelen's *On Colonial Grounds* (1998), Broodbank's *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades* (2000), and Constantakopoulou's *Dance of the Islands* (2007), have highlighted the position of islanders within Mediterranean maritime networks and have caused island studies to become an important subfield in Mediterranean archaeology. More recently, these earlier works have been supplemented by Knapp's *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus* (2008), Bevan and Conolly's *Mediterranean Islands, Fragile Communities, Persistent Landscapes* (2013), Helen Dawson's *Mediterranean Voyages: The Archaeology of Island Colonization and Abandonment* (2013), and Jane Francis and Anna Kouremenos' *Roman Crete: New Perspectives* (2016), which explore how specific island communities embraced their insularity to cope with the extra-insular geopolitical changes that affect islanders over the long-term. Overall, these studies have set the stage for more holistic analyses of islands' positions within Mediterranean networks and have emphasised the important role that island communities played in antiquity as some of the most hyperconnected places within an ancient world where sea-travel was the most rapid and efficient mode of connecting people and materials. Moreover, islanders often produced archaeologically legible material culture(s) that expressed identities affected by levels of connectivity. Thus, insularity as a social identity can be viewed as an important research paradigm for archaeologies concerned with re-examining cultural change.

The purpose of *Insularity and Identity in the Roman Mediterranean* is to discern how specific islands or island groups functioned in the interconnected world of the Roman Empire. The volume's theme stems from a TRAC session that was presented in the Roman Archaeology Conference at the University of Reading in the UK in March 2014, with additional contributions invited to form a more holistic picture of islands and culture change. Given the current state of the field for the study of insularity in the Roman period, this volume brings archaeologists and historians working on different islands and a range of material culture types to examine how various Mediterranean insularities functioned under Roman rule. Each chapter situates a specific island or island group within the context of its connectivity with other regions and the Roman empire in general and utilises archaeological material to reveal how islanders shaped their insular identities, or notions of insularity, at the nexus of local and imperial influences.

The papers in this book explore the concepts of insularity and identity in the Roman period by addressing some of the following questions: what does it mean to be an island? How has insularity shaped ethnic, cultural, and social identity in the Mediterranean during the Roman period? How were islands connected to the mainland and other islands? Did insularity produce isolation or did the populations

of various Mediterranean islands integrate easily into a common ‘Roman’ culture? How has maritime interaction shaped the economy and culture of specific islands? Can we argue for distinct ‘island identities’ during the Roman period? Large island studies are balanced by studies of smaller islands and archipelagos that illustrate how island size and proximity to other islands can influence the nature of connectivity, and thus insularity, during the Roman period. Cyprus, Crete, Sardinia and Corsica, due to their large size, produced different types of material cultures but were largely self-sufficient; in contrast, in smaller island groups like the Northern Sporades, the Ionian Islands, the Dalmatian Islands, and Malta, connectivity with both the mainland and other islands was imperative for survival.

Overall, through analysis of how insular identities were constructed and conveyed, the papers in this volume provide insights on how levels of connectivity change, the nature of ‘glocal’ (*i.e.*, hybrid global and local) identities, and the social ruptures fostered by increased cross-cultural interaction – themes that are vital to understanding social change in the twenty-first century.

Chapter 2

Insularity and Identity in Roman Cyprus: Connectivity, Complexity, and Cultural Change

Jody Michael Gordon

Introduction: Departing an Island ‘Backwater’ for *Mare Nostrum*

‘But the very fact that the Mediterranean, while in the thrall to Rome, was still a living entity with a healthy pulse of its own, meant that all its cultural goods continued to circulate, mingling with ideas and beliefs, and bringing about a uniformity in material civilization which has left traces still visible today.’

Fernand Braudel (2001, 306–307)

For most of the 20th century, scholars of early Roman Cyprus’ (c. 30 BC–AD 284) archaeology conceived of the island and its people as settled into a ‘backwater’ existence where Cypriots passively accepted the political rule and cultural norms of their Roman overlords (Mitford 1980, 1346; cf. Leonard 1995, 227; for islands as backwaters, see Knapp 2008, 20). Cyprus – a province rarely mentioned in historical narratives – was viewed as an insignificant region bypassed by the socio-political interests of a Roman empire focused on resource-rich or restive provinces. Mitford (1980, 1296) stated that Rome’s conquest of Cyprus ushered in three centuries of ‘tranquil obscurity,’ while Maier and Karageorghis (1984, 248) argued that Cypriot culture ‘was influenced deeply by the civilization of the Roman Empire, but this civilization was based on Hellenistic traditions.’ Today, Mitford’s viewpoint might be seen as colonialist, while Maier and Karageorghis’ might be viewed as understandably derived from postcolonial resistance attitudes that stressed the oppressive effects of 20th century imperialism (Gordon 2012, 13–22; for the complexity of modern notions of Cypriot identity *vis-à-vis* the island’s history, see Knapp 2008, 29). Nevertheless, both perspectives have contributed to a passive image of Roman Cypriot life best expressed by Sir George Hill’s (1972, 44) claim that Cyprus was ‘without a history, under Roman government.’

More recently, new theoretical approaches and archaeological discoveries have altered scholarly perspectives on Roman Cyprus (*e.g.*, Kondoleon 1995; Michaelides

1990; 1996; Parks 1999; 2004; Potter 2000; Leonard 2005; Lund 2006a; 2015; Kaldeli 2008; 2009; 2013; Gordon 2012; 2016; Given *et al.* 2013; Fujii 2013; Leidwanger 2014b;) and the role of islands within the Mediterranean (Knapp 2008, 1–11; Watkins and Ryerson 2014). First, approaches to Cypriot antiquity are now nuanced by theoretical discourse on postcolonialism, long-term history, and identity, and scholars perceive more social agency for ancient Cypriots across time (e.g., Knapp 2008; Papantoniou 2012; Gordon 2012; Counts and Iacovou 2013). Second, new archaeological research – on maritime archaeology, ceramics, numismatics, and sculpture – has provided novel insights into Cypriots' geopolitical connections during the Roman period (Parks 2004; Leonard 2005; Fejfer 2006; 2013; Lund 2006a; 2013a; 2013b; 2015; Kaldeli 2009; 2013; Gordon 2012; Winther-Jacobsen 2013; Leidwanger 2014b). Thus innovative academic perspectives utilising informed theoretical approaches and quantifiable evidence are beginning to revise Roman Cyprus' 'backwater' label. Instead, Roman Cyprus is emerging as a hyper-connected *insula portuosa et centralis* whose people could actively form their identities from a congeries of geocultural influences: the island hinterland, the coast, nearby landmasses, and even Rome itself (Leonard 2005, 15–17; Kaldeli 2013, 132).

Yet despite these studies' fresh evidence for Cyprus' centrality within Roman networks and for local agency in shaping provincial society, archaeological analyses that focus on the *processes* through which such political, economic, and cultural connections influenced Cypriot life have been limited (although see most recently, Lund 2015). The lack of analyses may be due to both the inherent difficulty in probing archaeological materials to reveal human agency and to the inability of finding theoretical approaches to histories, landscapes, and artefacts that adequately reveal how geography, historical change, and local action played interacting roles to shape culture in specific times and spaces. Given Cyprus' nature as a relatively large, sub-continental, sea-girt island, however, there is one theoretical framework – often employed for earlier periods, but rarely for the Roman – that may provide novel insights into how landscapes, human action, and material remains were entangled to create Roman Cyprus' distinct material culture record: island archaeology.

An island archaeology offers an effective framework for exploring cultural change in Roman Cyprus because it contextualises archaeological remains within a geohistorical situation that is unique to sea-girt islands like Cyprus. Similar to continental areas like plateaus and mountain ranges, areas that Fernand Braudel (1972, 160–61) called 'islands that the sea does not surround,' sea-girt islands are landmasses marked by fluctuating levels of social connectivity and isolation. This phenomenon – along with their typically smaller geographically circumscribed areas – makes them attractive places for studying social processes that are either difficult to observe on continents or qualitatively different on islands.

One social process that can be interpreted by island archaeologists is the construction of social identities, which within island scenarios are often conditioned by notions of *insularity* (Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, 1–3; Knapp 2008, 13–14; 2013, 34–37; Phoca-Cosmetatou 2011, 17; Bevan and Conolly 2013, 4–5). Identities can be loosely defined as an individual's sense of belonging to a group based on socially

acknowledged differences, both social and biological (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1) while Bernard Knapp (2008, 18) has quintessentially defined *insularity* as ‘the quality of being isolated as a result of living on islands’ (see also Broodbank 2000, 16–18). Insularity can be further defined as a mutable social identity and cultural strategy that is cultivated by islanders on islands with particular biogeographic properties (e.g., island size, location, or resources) at specific historical moments (e.g., episodes of imperial conquest). Island archaeology thus seems like it has an important role to play in understanding islanders’ cultural histories because notions of insularity – as an identity actively constructed by islanders facing specific, island-based challenges – can be read through material remains (Rainbird 2007, 59–62). Such readings are significant because they can help to reconstruct local pasts on islands like Cyprus that rarely feature in historical narratives (Broodbank 2000, 12–15; Leonard 2005, 23; for an overview of the known historical sources for Roman Cyprus, see Gordon 2012, 25–27, 279–303).

Bernard Knapp (2008) has undertaken the most significant research on the construction of insularity as a social identity on ancient Cyprus. Knapp has shown how during the Bronze and Iron Ages Cypriots manipulated their knowledge of the sea, local resources, Cyprus’ sea-girt nature, and its geopolitical location to create unique – and archaeologically legible – identities (Knapp 2008, 373–386; other studies touching on ancient Cypriot insularity and connectivity include: Held 1989; Karageorghis and Michaelides 1995; Cadogan *et al.* 2012a; Cosentino 2013; Kaldeli 2013; Lund and Lawall 2013; Michaelides *et al.* 2013; Papantoniou 2014; Simmons 2014; Leidwanger 2014a; 2014b; Lund 2015). Such an approach has contributed to discourse on Cypriot insularity, especially through its diachronic examination of the island’s long-term biogeographic and short-term socio-cultural configurations (see also the comparisons of Crete and Cyprus in Cadogan *et al.* 2012a).

An interesting observation about island archaeologies of Cyprus, however, is that few have concentrated on the Roman period (*cf.* the following recent studies whose material or theoretical foci have paved the way for an island archaeological approach: Leonard 2005; Kaldeli 2008; Leidwanger 2011; Lund 2015; Gordon 2016). This period might be neglected because Roman Cyprus’ archaeology contains material remains, such as mosaics, marble statues, and amphorae that match Fernand Braudel’s views quoted above on the ‘uniformity in material civilization’ that marked the Roman Mediterranean (e.g., see the reasons outlined for omitting a study of the Roman period in Cadogan *et al.* 2012b, 2–3). For example, Knapp (2008, 30) has argued that ‘the local Cypriot population, having welcomed the Roman regime, no longer made any obvious attempt to mark their identity through local cultural icons and symbols.’ Hence, some scholars might feel that Rome’s imperial incorporation of Cyprus stifled islanders’ ability to express a key element of insularity, *i.e.*, the maintenance of *isolation*, both physically and culturally. From this viewpoint, Cypriot culture gave way to a cosmopolitan Roman one; local and insular lifestyles were subsumed by imperial ones, and so are not worth studying unless they relate to larger imperial themes.

At first glance, such arguments seem to make sense (Leonard 2005, 19). Cypriot lives *were* changed because of Cyprus' integration into the Roman empire. Furthermore, the lack of historical references to Cyprus suggests that some Romans *did* view Cyprus as an inconsequential 'backwater,' likely because it lacked strategic defensive value and massive resource wealth (Gordon 2012, 326–327). Yet, a key question remains: did imperial integration transmit a uniform cultural package to Roman islands that 'Romanized' Cypriots and caused them to forsake local symbols of identity conditioned by insularity? Today, based on critiques of the theory of Romanisation and its hypothesis of the passive adoption of an empire-wide culture, most Roman archaeologists would suggest that local material expressions of *Romanitas* do not imply slavish imitation, but rather indicate objects' strategic use within contexts that ameliorated local agents' social positions *vis-à-vis* both provincial and imperial power structures (see *e.g.*, Hingley 1996; 2005; Webster 1996; Mattingly 1997a; 2011; Woolf 2004; Revell 2009). Thus, many scholars have begun to view 'Roman' culture as a globalised one that was likely imbued with multiple meanings as it was negotiated between imperial and local groups in a variety of provinces with unique geographical and historical contingencies (see *e.g.*, Hingley 2005; Sweetman 2007; Hitchner 2008; Whitmarsh 2010; Boozer 2012; Pitts and Versluys 2014; Gordon 2016). The Roman empire's political unity, connectivity, and modes of symbolic communication were thus enhanced due to the very flexibility of Roman imperial culture (Hingley 2005, 71).

Another issue related to insularity's influence on Roman provincial identities is whether the long-term geocultural aspects associated with island life stopped operating once islanders were connected to *Mare Nostrum*. On this issue, most island archaeologists would likely argue that islanders' notions of insularity still played a key role in the process of identity construction (Broodbank 2000, 21). Such a scenario makes sense for Cyprus because research has shown that the reconfiguration of the island's biogeographical values during the Roman period granted it a centrality within eastern Mediterranean trading networks, and that this development caused Cypriots to negotiate new economic and cultural relations *vis-à-vis* both the empire and other groups (Leonard 1995, 227; 2005, 15–17; Kaldeli 2009, 369–70). Moreover, a reanalysis of the archaeological evidence suggests that Cyprus' nature as a *megali nesos* caused people in different parts of the island to experience their insularity in different ways both in terms of coast-interior interactions as well as centre-periphery ones (Lund 2006a, 45–49; 2015, 240–241; Kaldeli 2013, 130).

This introduction's goal has been to suggest that studies of Roman Cyprus have often failed to consider the plurality of identities in the Roman world and the theoretical value of viewing insularity as a social identity that created cultural and social difference, even in the face of imperialism. Below, I explore these issues by examining the archaeology of Roman Cyprus as an island archaeology. Through a discussion of both modern and Roman concepts of insularity, the biogeographical and cultural features that affected society, and several classes of archaeological evidence, I show how multiple social identities could be constructed based on spatially and

temporally contingent notions of insularity. Ultimately, a focus on how Cypriots constructed their insularity contributes to recent 'Cyprocentric, insular' approaches to the Cypriot past, provides further evidence for the island's unique geohistorical position, and serves as a useful comparative case study of the nature of insularity in the Roman world (for the 'Cyprocentric, insular' approach, see Counts and Iacovou 2013, 10; Iacovou 2013, 17; for comparative island archaeologies, see Cherry *et al.* 1991, 4–5; Campbell and Conolly 2008).

Islands, Insularity, and Island Archaeologies

'The boundaries of Cyprus are formed on all sides by the sea.'

Ptolemy *Geog.* 5.14.1

Nearly all island archaeologies begin with two questions: what is an island? Are island societies uniquely different from those found on other landmasses (Broodbank 2000, 16–18; Constantokopoulou 2007, 10–20; Knapp 2008, 18; Bevan and Conolly 2013, 6)? Seemingly, the answers are simple: an island is a landmass completely surrounded by water, and therefore its very isolation creates the conditions for different cultural developments than those on continents. Yet, the definition of islands and the delineation of the unique qualities of island life are often debated and permit a range of interpretations based on both physical and cultural factors.

To clarify how I conceive of insularity, I wish to take Constantokopoulou's (2007, 12; *cf.* Febvre 1924, 207) minimalist definition of an island as a 'piece of land completely surrounded by water' as a starting point (Fig. 1). This definition has traditionally marked out islands as places where both physical and mental isolation occurs based on the perception that the sea presents a *barrier* to movement (Rainbird 2007, 33). Hence, cultural anthropologists have commonly viewed islands as 'laboratories' where cyclical (and thus predictable) and quantifiable cultural processes can be studied that are different than those on continents (Evans 1973; Rainbird, 2007, 33–34; Phoca-Cosmetatou 2011, 17; Bevan and Conolly 2013, 6). Biogeographers have enhanced such views by suggesting that factors such as island size and distance from a continent can predict the level of biotic – and, in anthropological terms, cultural – diversity on a given island (MacArthur and Wilson 1967; Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, 1–3; Rainbird 2007, 30–32).

In recent years, however, archaeologists have critiqued such isolationist and positivist, non-islander viewpoints, and have developed analytical approaches that consider islander perspectives on local histories, the paradoxical nature of island isolation, and the notion of insularity as a relative phenomenon contingent on space and time (Broodbank 2000, 22–23; 2013, 78–79; Rainbird 2007, 30–32; Campbell and Conolly 2008, iii; Knapp 2008, 14–19; for a brief epistemology of approaches, see Spriggs 2008; for a more literary interpretation of Mediterranean island qualities,



Fig. 1: An archetypal ‘piece of land completely surrounded by water’, the islet of Geronisos located just off of Cyprus’ west coast (Photo: author).

see Matvejevic 1999, 16–20). The most significant observations have included: the recognition of ‘prehistoric’ (oral or archaeological) island histories, the concept that insularity is an *identity* conditioned by isolation, the recognition that sea-girt islands can also be intimately *connected* to other landmasses and waterways, and that although island size and location influence island society, biogeographical models alone cannot predict cultural change in island settings – historically-situated human agency must also play a role (Gosden and Pavlides 1994, 162–163; Broodbank 2000, 18–32; Constantakopoulou 2007, 1–7; Rainbird 2007, 26–45; Knapp 2008, 14–29; Bevan and Conolly 2013, 1–7; Dawson 2013, 13–18; Walsh 2014, 210–241). Thus, in this chapter I explore how insularity affects identity by eschewing traditional assumptions about sea-girt islands and by employing perspectives that consider the multifaceted and human-constructed nature of island life.

Let us now briefly consider current definitions of insularity as an actively constructed social identity. In his seminal work, *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades* (2000), Cyprian Broodbank (2000, 17–18) argued that “the most apparent straightforward categories of insularity are fuzzy” and that ‘insularity is culturally constructed, open to multiple meanings in a given context, historically contingent, and therefore liable to change.’ Bernard Knapp (2008, 18) further defined insularity as ‘the quality of being isolated as a result of being on islands, or of being somewhat detached in outlook and experience. Insularity can result from personal, historical or social contingency’ followed by the explanatory statement that ‘Insularity, however, is contingent in both space and time, and thus may be adopted or adapted as individuals or wider social concerns dictate.’

Both of these perspectives emphasise factors that are critical to defining insularity. First, insularity is open to multiple meanings and can be ‘adopted and adapted’ according to changing social conditions. Second, insularity involves isolation or detachment along a spectrum from complete detachment to complete connectivity, where the level of isolation is affected by unique spatial and temporal parameters (Broodbank 2000, 10, 19; Constantakopoulou 2007, 2; Bevan and Conolly 2013, 5–6). Third, because social conditions change diachronically, islanders’ identities were not static. Instead, all islanders have histories that are unique to the way that insularity was strategically moderated over time between islanders themselves and extra-insular groups (see also Cherry *et al.* 1991, 7–9). Broodbank (2000, 21) has offered a similar view stating that, ‘What mattered for an island society was not that it managed to isolate itself (often difficult and, in many ways, apparently not desirable), but that it could determine on whose terms cross-cultural interaction took place.’ As a corollary to such observations, because many island histories lack a written component, island *archaeologies* that take into account islands’ unique biogeographical features and the complex nature of insularity should be employed to shed light on cultural change. Insularity, then, needs to be approached as a complex and mutable form of social identity that is archaeologically legible and that is affected by spatially and temporally contingent perceptions of isolation and/or connectivity (Knapp 2008, 31–35).

Yet what are the contours of an ‘island archaeology’? Broodbank (2000, 32–35) has highlighted several features (see also Rainbird 2007, 44; Dawson 2013, 13–18). First, he suggests that an *islander’s perspective* should be privileged in terms of how islanders are connected within an island, to other islands, and to mainlands (see also Rainbird 2007, 39–42; Knapp 2008, 22). A second point is that an *archaeology of the sea* focused on maritime remains should complement land-based approaches (see also Rainbird 2007, 46–67). A third element is an analytical focus on what Broodbank (2000, 21–25) calls *landscapes* – or landscapes that include the sea and littoral as well as the land – that create diverse islander viewsheds or one’s full visual field when standing in a specific location (Fig. 2; see also Rainbird 2007, 43–45; Knapp 2008, 24–27; for viewsheds, see Tartaron 2013, 9). Such viewsheds seem especially worthy of consideration on large islands that could offer multiple landscapes, each of which could affect and be affected by specific insular identities (for Cyprus, see Knapp 2013, 36). Lastly, an island archaeology must *look at material evidence* for social interaction because these signifiers of practices show how insularity was conditioned by both external and internal agency as levels of connectivity and/or isolation were negotiated, especially when islands were integrated into continental systems such as empires (Broodbank 2000, 34–5; Rainbird 2007, 59–62; Knapp 2008, 35).

Based on these perspectives, this chapter presents an island archaeology of Roman Cyprus that explores how Cypriots could strategically manipulate their insularity to form new identities in ways that were contingent on Cyprus’ geographical nature as a large sea-girt island, and on the historical phenomenon of increased connectivity within the Roman Mediterranean.



Fig. 2: An islander's perspective as witnessed from the ancient city of Kourion on Cyprus' south coast. This islandscape includes the sea, the littoral, the coastal plain, and the material remains of the city's theatre (Photo: author).

A 'Great' Roman Island: Cyprus as an Island Province

Cyprus' Permanent Island Features

'In fertility Cyprus is not inferior to any one of the islands, for it produces both good wine and good oil, and also sufficient supply of grain for its own use.'

Strabo *Geog.* 14.6.5

Having defined insularity as 'culturally constructed, open to multiple meanings in a given context, historically contingent, and therefore liable to change' and 'contingent in both space and time,' I now establish some of the unique spatial and temporal parameters that influenced insularities in Roman Cyprus (see also Gordon 2012, 30–53). I elucidate such features by drawing on Fernand Braudel's *longue durée* approach to historical change, whereby an island's 'permanent values' can be discerned from a long-term geographic and diachronic analysis (Braudel 1972, 23; Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, 3–5; Cherry *et al.* 1991, xvi, 10; Horden and Purcell 2000,

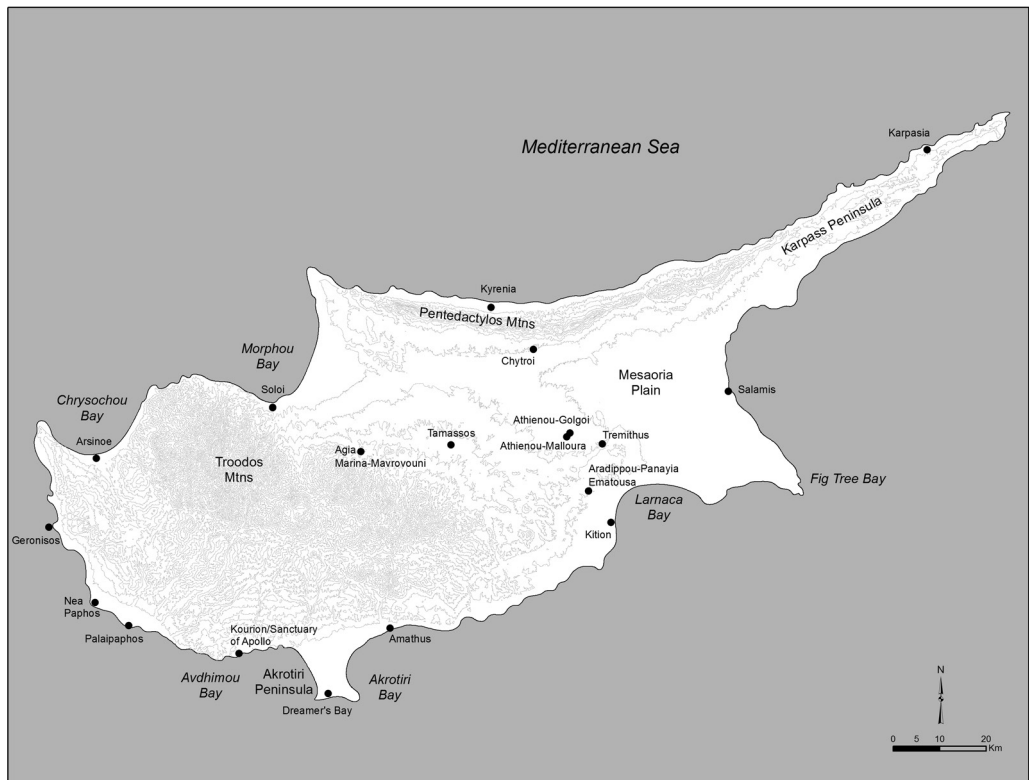


Fig. 3: Map of Cyprus showing key geographical features and ancient cities. Created by and with the permission of Brandon Olson.

36–39; Broodbank 2013, 18–19; Bevan and Conolly 2013, 4–5; for the importance of diachronic analysis in interpreting cultural change in Cyprus, see Iacovou 2013, 16–18). Once such ‘permanent island features’ are revealed, the middle and short-term, *histoire événementielle* of Roman Cyprus can be briefly reviewed to unite the historical contingencies with the long-term features that shape notions of insularity (Braudel 1972, 23; Peltenberg and Iacovou 2012, 352).

Cyprus’ physical size and topographical features are two of its unchanging physical properties. At 9,251 km², Cyprus is the Mediterranean’s third largest island, and its topography includes the Troodos massif in the west, the Pentadactylos mountain range in the north, the Mesaoria plain in the east, and over 600 kms of coastline (Fig. 3; Karageorghis 1982, 12; Leonard 2005, 321–322). Mountain springs and seasonal rivers (now dammed) used to flow towards the fertile plains and coasts providing ample fresh water and food resources. Cyprus is also too large to be a stereotypical small island (Bevan and Conolly 2013, 6). Instead, it has been described as a ‘matchbox continent’ whose geographical diversity sustains an array of economic and cultural lifestyles (Held 1989, 10–28; Broodbank 2013, 78; Constantakopoulou 2007, 14–15). Therefore,



Fig. 4: Map showing Cyprus' strategic location within the eastern Mediterranean. Created by and with the permission of Brandon Olson.

Cyprus' large size and long coastline yield a range of islandscapes that influence islanders' perspectives on their place of habitation, other parts of the island, the sea, and extra-insular contacts.

Cyprus' location between some of the most prominent ancient civilisations also made it an important political, economic, and cultural crossroads from the Bronze Age onwards. At 69 kms from Cilicia, 122 kms from Syria, around 400 kms from Alexandria, and 800 kms from Athens, Cyprus is located within a week's sail of most eastern Mediterranean ports (Fig. 4; Karageorghis 1982, 12; Leidwanger 2014b, 35; Lund 2015, 182 fig. 256A). Moreover, as an *insula portuosa*, Cyprus has always provided mariners with sheltered bays and anchorages (for the term *insula portuosa*, see Ammianus Marcellinus 14.8.14; for a catalogue of ports, see Leonard 2005, 991–1006). Hence, Cyprus must be considered both a 'crossroads' island where various peoples could connect to negotiate culture, and also as a strategic landmass whose isolation could be manipulated – either by Cypriots or outside powers – in response to historical contingency (for 'crossroads' islands, see van Dommelen 1998, 11; for Cyprus' strategic importance, see Hauben 1987, 214).



Fig. 5: Cypriot islandscape that looks from a position in the northeastern Troodos mountains, across the Mesaoria plain, to the Pentedactylos range in the north (Photo: author).

Cyprus' natural resources also historically affected Cypriots' insularity. Since the Bronze Age, copper from the Troodos massif was mined, processed, and exported in large amounts. The Troodos also provided timber for metallurgy and shipbuilding. The fertile plains of the Mesaoria provided surpluses of grain, wine, and olive oil that could be exported (Fig. 5). Cypriot artisans exploited these resources to produce foodstuffs, weapons, coins, ships, and ceramics, which were widely traded (for all of these resources and industries, see Michaelides 1996; Leonard 2005; for an exhaustive study of Cypriot ceramics in Hellenistic and Roman times, see Lund 2015). These resources granted Cypriots a degree of self-sufficiency that further permitted socio-cultural isolation or integration as Mediterranean geopolitics shifted. Such resources also drew nearby external powers to the island, especially when products like copper and timber enhanced the military strength of empires such as the Ptolemies (Hauben 1987, 217–222).

Broodbank (2000, 33) has argued that, 'a range of cultural and resource-oriented factors specific to each regional and temporal context condition and, in certain cases, override the predictions of island geometry.' This observation shows that although permanent geographical features are critical to understanding insularity, one must

also examine how they interact with the long-term ‘temporal’ features of local culture that were embodied in island landscapes, material culture, and social interactions. A *longue-durée* analysis of Cypriot civilisation from the Bronze Age through Roman times reveals several permanent (or at least long-lived) ‘temporal’ features whose preservation was likely enhanced by Cypriots’ diachronic manipulation of Cyprus’ geographical properties.

A first feature is Cypriot seafaring traditions, which are evidenced by discoveries of anchors, ship models, shipwrecks, and port facilities in most eras (for an overview of this evidence, see Karageorghis and Michaelides 1995). A second feature is the cultural influence of the Aegean world and the local use of the Greek language, even if it was often written in the Cypro-Syllabic script and spoken alongside other regional languages (e.g., Phoenician and possibly Eteo-Cypriot) before the Ptolemaic conquest (Iacovou 2006, 56–57; Peltenberg and Iacovou 2012, 359). The earliest evidence for the Greek language on Cyprus dates to the early Iron Age, while Aegean imports (e.g., Mycenaean pottery) arrived considerably earlier (Iacovou 2006, 32–33; Iacovou 2013, 17; Knapp 2013, 421–422). The use of the Greek language and Aegean-influenced artistic styles survived through the Classical and Hellenistic periods and would continue to influence Cypriot culture throughout the Roman era (Gordon 2012, 307; Papantoniou 2013, 171). A third, resilient element of Cypriot culture that seems to have assumed distinct forms is religion. Religious sanctuaries with unique architecture that honoured both local as well as hybrid deities could be found throughout the island during most historical periods (Fig. 6). Although these sanctuaries’ rituals and architecture changed diachronically, their geographical locations could be revered even when faced with major geopolitical upheavals (Papantoniou 2013, 183–184). A final idiosyncratic feature of Cypriot culture was the predilection for monarchic (and later oligarchic) political organisation. Beginning in the Iron Age, *basileis* governed the Cypriot ‘polis-states’ that politically divided up the island, and it was only after the Ptolemaic conquest that oligarchies overseen by imperial magistrates took control of local government (Iacovou 2013, 16; Keen 2012, 187–188, 204–205; for oligarchies, see Mitford 1980, 1342). Thus civic governments controlled by elites whose social power was often influenced by extra-insular powers proved to be the norm for Cypriot social organisation even during Roman times.

This overview of the long-term spatial and temporal features that emerge from a Braudelian analysis of Cypriot civilisation reveals some of the insular variables that shaped Cypriot notions of insularity. Some of these features, such as Cyprus’ large size, ports, and Cypriots’ seafaring history may have parallels on Crete or Sicily, while Cyprus’ range of natural resources might seem akin to Sardinia. Yet, it is the unique combination of Cyprus’ size, resources, and location in relation to specific large-scale continental cultures that likely played a key role in influencing spatially-contingent notions of Cypriot insularity. In the next section, I examine how these features shaped Cypriots’ insularity and transformed local culture during the Roman period.



Fig. 6: An aerial view of the religious sanctuary of Athienou-Malloura showing Classical and Hellenistic phases. Note the peribolos wall on the right side of the image demarcating the sanctuary's sacred space (© Athienou Archaeological Project).

Historical Contingency: The Roman Conquest of Cyprus

'Also those which the Greeks by way of distinction call the great islands [μεγάλαι νῆσοι], Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Lesbos, Euboea, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and whatever other isle there may be, large or small – all are under Roman rule.'

Appian, *Roman History*, praef. 5

As discussed above, changes in insular identities often occur when new political and economic structures alter the importance of geographical location and cause shifts in insular connectivity. Ian Morris, in *Why the West Rules – For Now* offers a similar perspective: 'Geography did not lock in history, because geographical advantages are always ultimately self-defeating. They drive up social development, but in the process social development changes what geography means' (Morris 2010, 33). As history has shown, in eras of imperial hegemony, Cyprus could offer geographical advantages in terms of its connectivity, while in times of regional strife it could offer resource-based self-sufficiency (see Hauben 1987; Mehl 2004; Gordon 2012, 522–526). It is therefore important to examine how Cyprus' geographical and long-term cultural features affected notions of insularity especially when short-term events – such as the Roman conquest – altered the meaning of the island's geography.

The historical record for the Roman conquest of Cyprus provides an insight into why the island has been viewed as a provincial ‘backwater’ in both political and cultural terms (for an overview of the historical sources, see Michaelides 1990, 110–112; Potter 2000, 763–796; Gordon 2012, 279–283). After over two centuries of Ptolemaic rule, Cyprus was first conquered by Rome in 58 BC when P. Clodius Pulcher compelled Cato the Younger to wrest the island from Ptolemy, the brother of Ptolemy XII Auletes, who was reigning as King of Cyprus. Following Ptolemy’s suicide, the island was joined to the province of Cilicia, whence Cicero briefly governed it from afar. Since Rome’s initial conquest of Cyprus was part of a Late Republican political game with pan-Mediterranean domination as the prize, how Cyprus was ruled was inconsequential as long as Cypriots supported the leading Roman faction. Thus with Julius Caesar’s victory at Pharsalus in 48 BC, and his liaison with Cleopatra VII, Cyprus was soon gifted back to the Ptolemies. It would only be with Octavian’s total conquest of the Mediterranean in 30 BC that Cyprus would be re-incorporated into the nascent Roman empire, first as an imperial province, and then as a senatorial one in 23 BC. From this point onwards, Cyprus rarely appears in the historical narratives of the Roman state, save for mentions of earthquakes, imperial visits, or the rare political tumults (for the visit of Titus, see Tac. *Hist.* 2.2–3; Suet. *Tit.* 5; for a possible visit of Hadrian, see Mitford 1971, 195–199; for the disturbances in Salamis during the Diaspora Revolt under Trajan, see Dio Cassius 68.32.1–3; cf. Eusebius *Hist.Eccl.* iv.2; *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii.164 *et seq.*; Orosius vii.12). Other literary mentions reveal an elite interest in the island’s resources and an antiquarian fascination with its religious shrines, both features that had contributed to Cyprus’ long-term social and cultural development (for religious shrines, see Strabo *Geog.* 14.6; for Paul and Barnabas’ apostolic visit to Cyprus, see Acts 13, 1–12).

Let us now review how the Roman conquest reconfigured the meaning of Cyprus’ permanent island features. The Roman conquest of the entire eastern Mediterranean deprived Cyprus of the military value it had acquired under the Ptolemies (Mitford 1980, 1291; 1344–1345; Hauben 1987). In addition, Rome’s access to metallic and agricultural resources elsewhere likely downplayed the relative value of Cyprus’ natural products on an empire-wide level (however, for the difficulty in quantifying agricultural production, see Bowman and Wilson 2013, 4–5; for metallic ore resources in the Roman empire, see Craddock 2008). A Roman political disinterest is also hinted at by the appointment of low-level senatorial functionaries as proconsuls (Potter 2000, 788–789). According to epigraphic evidence, the proconsuls were assisted by a skeleton crew of administrators and a small detachment of soldiers to maintain order (Mitford 1980, 1291, 1344–1345). There is no evidence of Roman colonies, and hardly any mention of Italian *publicani*, or *negotiatores* (Lund 2015, 240). Incidences of Roman citizenship are also relatively rare, and Cypriots were treated as *dediticii* (Mitford 1980, 1362–1365). Based on the image gleaned from historical sources, Cyprus’ permanent geographical features seem to have been relatively unimportant for an empire with distant borders that could access similar natural resources in greater

quantities elsewhere. It is this perspective, along with Cyprus' rare appearance in Roman historical narratives, that has arguably contributed to Cyprus' 'backwater' image among scholars.

Yet there could also be 'advantages of backwardness.' Ian Morris (2010, 33–34) developed this concept to explain how certain regions may be socially and culturally backward at specific historical moments when their geography was strategically meaningless, while in other eras, social development can increase once geography takes on new meaning. So, on the one hand, Cyprus' perceived geographic unimportance to the Roman empire might be marshalled to support the hypothesis of Cyprus' political irrelevance and the 'end' of isolation. Alternatively, when one examines Roman Cyprus' archaeological evidence from an island archaeology perspective, a different viewpoint emerges. Cyprus is not disconnected from imperial life; instead it assumes the role of a hyperconnected crossroads whose inhabitants shape their identities in ways that would have been impossible under Ptolemaic rule. Although the economic structures of Roman Cyprus are still poorly understood, the archaeological evidence for local elite wealth (such as epigraphic dedications and expensive buildings or sculptures), which was likely accrued through the maritime export of agricultural products or an involvement in the state-controlled copper industry, suggests that Cypriots could rise socially within local economic and political hierarchies (Michaelides 1996, 144, 148; Potter 2000, 849; Leonard 2005, 945–959; Fujii 2013, 111–123; for Roman Cyprus' most famous first century euergetist, Servius Sulpicius Pancles Veranianus, see Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, no. 106; Potter 2000, 838–839; for local and imperial interactions in the copper industry, see Graham *et al.* 2006, 361). Thus, a re-evaluation of recent archaeological evidence and certain ancient commentaries suggests that Cyprus was not the 'backwater' scholars have envisioned. Instead, it appears that Cypriot agricultural products and copper were still widely used and exported, particularly on a regional basis, and that local people may have benefitted from this trade (Michaelides 1996; Lund 1997; Potter 2000; Kaldeli 2009; 2013; Georgakopoulou and Kassianidou 2013; Leidwanger 2014b).

Cypriot agricultural products could even be dispersed via long-distance trade because Cyprus was located on sea routes leading from the Western Mediterranean to the resource-rich provinces of Egypt, Arabia, and Syria (Lund 2006a, 43–45; Kaldeli 2013, 130–132). The transformation of the island's militarily strategic position into an economically strategic one could thus permit the integration of Cyprus and Cypriots into empire-wide trading markets protected by the *Pax Romana*. In this way, Cypriots could be connected to, yet not directly dominated by, the political forces of the imperial centre. This phenomenon was arguably shaped by Cyprus' permanent insular features, which in turn shaped Cypriot notions of their insularity. Hence, Cyprus' perceived 'backwardness' in Roman eyes may have made this 'backwater' province into an island of advantageous opportunity, where local agents could instantiate new, historically contingent, conceptions of insularity (compare also the positive results of the Roman conquest of Africa in Mattingly 1997b.)

Insulae Ambiguae: Connectivity and Roman Perceptions of Insularity

‘Cyprus too, an island far removed from the mainland, and abounding in harbours, besides having numerous towns, is made famous by two cities, Salamis and Paphos, the one celebrated for its shrines of Jupiter, the other for its temple of Venus. This Cyprus is so fertile and abounds so much in products of every kind, that without the need of any help from without, by its native resources alone, it builds cargo ships from the very keel to topmost sails, and equipping them completely entrusts them to the deep.’

Ammianus Marcellinus 14.8.14 (trans. Rolfe 1950, 72–73)

During the Late Republic, the Romans became the masters of the Mediterranean Sea. Thus, Cicero (Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 31; trans. Gordon 2018) already recognised the Mediterranean as a ‘safe’ and ‘closed’ Roman ‘harbor’ [*portum tutum et clausum*] that stretched from the Atlantic to the Black Sea. Later, during the empire, Pliny the Elder (Plin. *HN* 14.2), stated that life had improved in the *oikoumene* under Roman rule thanks to trade and the *Pax Romana* that protected it. Aelius Aristides saw the Mediterranean as a ‘belt situated in the middle of the civilized world’ where ‘merchant vessels’ carry ‘commodities from every region in every season’ (Or. 26.10.92–95; trans. Scott 2015, 187). These literary testimonia attest to the bustling nature of trade and cultural interaction in the Roman Mediterranean, and the Roman belief that it was the combination of peace and trade that had improved their subjects’ lives. The Mediterranean in such passages becomes a Roman lake, a hub of connectivity, where all sea networks intersect and eventually lead to Rome (for islands as hubs of connectivity, see Horden and Purcell 2000, 225–226; for Rome’s integration of Mediterranean networks, see Morris 2005, 44). For the Romans, the sea was not a barrier, but rather a belt that cinched together and enriched the diverse provinces while connecting them to Aristides’ metaphorical ‘belt buckle’ that preserved unity, Rome. Rhetorical hyperbole aside, archaeological evidence from Ostia, Rome, and the provinces supports such perspectives. For example, ceramics traded over long-distances have been discovered at both the centre and on the peripheries, higher numbers of shipwrecks are noted during Roman times *vis-à-vis* other eras, and coastal cities exhibit an increase in population, opulence, and wealth (Wilson *et al.* 2012, 287–288).

Yet how did the Romans perceive islands within this hyper-connected Mediterranean world (for more on such perceptions, see Borca 2000)? The Latin word for island, *insula*, not only meant a sea-girt island, but also a ‘detached house/block of flats’ where people had an existence that was detached from that of people in other *insulae* (Knapp 2008, 18). For the Romans then, island life was perceived as more detached and different from life on other landmasses. However, islands were also seen in the ‘traditional’ way, that is, as landmasses surrounded by water (*e.g.*, Ptolemy *Geog.* 5.14.1 quoted above). Such perspectives are common in literary sources and could also be expressed in material form. For example, a mosaic from Ammaedara in Tunisia shows the Mediterranean’s large islands, including Cyprus, as sea-girt landmasses surmounted by exotic temple-like structures whose maritime nature

(and perhaps simultaneous alterity) is underlined by the presence of mythical *putti* chasing fish between coasts (Bejaoui 1999).

Despite these ‘traditional’ viewpoints on islands, some Romans could be more ambiguous. Strabo clearly understood the sea-girt definition of islands because he likens the known world to an island restricted by the barrier of the Atlantic (Strab. *Geog.* 1.1.8 ‘ἡ οἰκουμένη νῆσός ἐστι.’). In addition, in his description of Cyprus, he appears fascinated with the island’s unique religious cults, flora, and fauna in a manner reminiscent of the 20th century ‘island laboratory’ school (Strab. *Geog.* 14.6). These points show that Strabo could imagine islands as detached places where strange animals lived (like the mythical *putti* from the Ammaedara mosaic), mysterious rituals continued, and ancient buildings stood (for islands as places of mystery, see Rainbird 2007, 4–6). Yet in his description of Cyprus, he sometimes leaves the picture of a bounded, insular realm behind for a connected one by expounding on harbors, seamarks, and the distances between Cypriot havens and continental ones, likely as an aid to navigators (Strab. *Geog.* 14.6.2). Strabo could therefore also perceive islands like Cyprus with seafaring facilities as stopping places for long voyages, as bridges to continental ports, or as gateways to even more distant sea-lanes. Thus, in the Roman mind, islands could be both isolated places capable of preserving long-standing cultural traditions as well as nodes in a dense matrix of networks protected by the *Pax Romana* that linked diverse peoples, products, and ideas together in a way that strengthened imperial unity.

Such duality is also present in Ammianus Marcellinus’ passage quoted above (14.8.14), which emphasises Cyprus’ continuing isolation – as an island ‘*procul a continenti*’ with unique temples – as well as its connectivity – in that it builds ‘*onerarium navem*.’ Roman islands, and the islanders who lived on them, thus existed within a liminal world that included both economic and cultural connectivity as well as degrees of social and cultural isolation (for the dynamics of connectivity on islands, see Braudel 1972, 149–151; Phoca-Cosmetatou 2011, 18; Bevan and Conolly 2013, 5). Arguably, by examining how specific groups of islanders defined their identities within such parameters – that is, as members of a connected empire who could also strategically detach themselves – an insight can be gained into specific notions of insularity and their effect on people’s lives. However, because historical sources provide only select perspectives on island life, Roman island archaeologies should be employed to shed light on how islanders themselves negotiated their connectivity within the greater Roman world.

An Archaeology of the Sea, Islands, and the Nature of Connectivity in Roman Cyprus

In order to access the liminal, ambiguous space where islanders negotiated their insularity, one needs to transcend the ‘barrier’ of the sea and develop archaeologies that reveal ancient maritime, as well as terrestrial, lifeways (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 9).

Paul Rainbird (2007, 46–67) has suggested that terrestrial archaeologies must be accompanied by *archaeologies of the sea* that examine ‘maritime-linked’ material culture to reconstruct islander perceptions of seafaring, coastal economy and society, and maritime connectivity. Rainbird (2007, 44) also follows Broodbank to call for the recognition of ‘islandscapes,’ or landscapes that include an island’s coasts, the sea, and even the coasts of other nearby islands or continental mainlands (Gosden and Pavlides 1994, 162–163; Broodbank 2000, 21–25). Yet, Rainbird privileges the sea as the starting point for island archaeologies, as opposed to those of traditional sea-girt landmasses (Fig. 7). Given the sea’s conductive role and the extreme connectivity between coastlines in the Roman Mediterranean, such a starting point has merit. The concept of islandscapes also remains valuable for studying large islands like Cyprus, where the landscapes and coastlines experienced by one group of islanders might be different to those of others even on the same island and may include a diverse range of ‘temporal features’ conditioned by long-term insularity (Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, 8; Cherry *et al.* 1991, xv; Rainbird 2007, 22). Hence, before examining terrestrial archaeological remains to explore insularity’s effect on Roman Cypriot identities, an archaeology of the sea should be sketched that integrates seascapes and landscapes



Fig. 7: A coastscape, sea level view of the Pentedactylos mountain range from the vicinity of Salamis on Cyprus’ east coast (Photo: author).

and reveals the levels of connectivity – and conversely, isolation – that people living in Cyprus’ diverse landscapes experienced and exploited.

In his attempt to explore how maritime communities are different from terrestrial ones, Rainbird (2007, 59–60) suggests that an archaeology of the sea should concern itself with:

maritime-related material culture, which can include such things as harbours/quays, docks, cranes, warehouses/cellars, boat sheds/houses, defenses (sea and military), fishing gear and communal works ... the boat, for example, is a very rare find, but we have to start with the assumption that it existed and most likely in a form not found in landlocked communities.

Is it possible, using Rainbird’s criteria, to sketch an archaeology of the sea for Roman Cyprus? Because a critical mass of research on Roman era shipwrecks, ports, and sea-borne trade has now been published, it does seem that an archaeology of the sea can be outlined. Thus, a brief review of the evidence should present the contours of a maritime archaeology that will help to clarify degrees of connectivity/isolation, define landscapes, and reveal local notions of insularity under Roman rule.

Literary sources and shipwreck evidence indicate that Cypriots, as islanders, were almost always engaged in seafaring (Karageorghis and Michaelides 1995; Leonard 2005, 1–15). Yet, with boats being paradoxically both the most important and the most elusive of archaeological finds, most eras of Cypriot history are only represented by one or two coastal shipwrecks. The early Roman period is no different, with very few wrecks reported; however, Justin Leidwanger (2013; 2014b) has recently published an analysis of an early Roman shipwreck discovered off Cyprus’ southeastern coast at Fig Tree Bay that illuminates regional maritime practices. Although the ship’s structural remains had deteriorated, from 2007–2009, Leidwanger and his team explored the cargos from what was likely a small ship loaded with 4–5 tons of cargo (Leidwanger 2014b, 62; for more on ship sizes in antiquity, see Casson 1995, 169–173). According to dated amphorae, the shipwreck occurred at some point in the second century AD, an era when Cyprus’ coastal cities, like Nea Paphos and Salamis, would have been connected to Roman trading networks and the socio-cultural contacts that accompanied them (Leidwanger 2014b, 60). Leidwanger (2014b, 60; 62) has further illustrated that most amphorae, some of which carried fruit, fish, olive oil, or wine, were primarily derived from regional markets in Cilicia or Syria. Yet, surprisingly, a significant number of amphorae were also of the Gauloise 4 type used to ship wine from southern France (Leidwanger 2014b, 61).

Despite the unknown origin of its crew, the Fig Tree Bay shipwreck’s finds provide an instructive insight into the types of maritime activities that could be experienced in Cyprus’ coastal waters. First, small scale, regional shipping ventures that connected Cypriot anchorages and harbours to those on nearby coasts were likely common (see also Lund 2015, 164–184). Moreover, regional trading networks intersected with Mediterranean-wide ones to bring ‘international’ products, like Gallic wine, to Cyprus’

coastal cities via mechanisms of local exchange (Lund 2015, 186–210). For example, Leidwanger (2014b, 62) suggests that the Gallic amphorae may have been procured in a nearby large port city frequented by long-distance ships, such as Seleucia Pieria (the main port of Antioch), only a few days sail from Cyprus' east coast. The Fig Tree Bay shipwreck suggests that regional and local, small-scale, shipping was a common mode of life on Cypriot coasts and that products from local, regional, and long-distance markets could find their way to islanders.

A discussion of port and harbour remains further elucidates an archaeology of the sea for Roman Cyprus (for an exhaustive study, see Leonard 2005). The archaeological evidence for Cyprus' largest towns indicates that nearly all major population centres were situated on the coasts during Roman times (Michaelides 1990, 116–117). As a result, most coastal settlements required harbour facilities whose elaborateness depended on both geographical and socio-political factors. For example, geographical factors could include a port's distance to shipping lanes or inland resources as well as its natural situation *vis-à-vis* sailing winds and currents (see Leonard 2005, 333–353), while socio-political factors might include a city's historical/religious prestige on the local, or even international, level (as was the case for Cypriot ports with well-known cults, like Nea Paphos and Salamis).

John Leonard (1995, 229) has studied Cyprus' harbour remains and has shown that 'Roman Cypriot shores were punctuated by a network of large ports, medium-sized harbours, and small anchorages.' Leonard (1995, 232, 236; 2005, *passim*) describes a range of harbour types from the most elaborate, at urban sites like Nea Paphos (which, according to the *Stadiasmos* [297], an anonymous mid-4th century mariner's guide, had a large 'λιμένα τριπλοῦν παντὶ ἀνέμῳ'), to small-scale rural anchorages with limited facilities, like Drousha-Kioni. More recently, Justin Leidwanger (2014b) has added to Roman Cyprus' *insula portuosa* image based on his study of ceramics and anchors discovered at smaller sites like Avdimou Bay. Leidwanger (2014b, 63–64) suggests that small bays without harbour facilities, and even beaches, played a prominent role in the movement of goods on a regional level and would have served as key loci for exporting the agricultural produce of the Cypriot interior and for importing regional, or even international, goods.

In sum, the archaeology of the sea for Roman Cyprus seems to suggest the plentiful existence of what Tartaron (2013, 188–190) has called 'coastsapes,' which include harbours and anchorages as well as their immediately adjacent seasapes. Yet, the evidence for ancient roads also suggests that Cypriots could look inward to other, larger landscapes on this 'matchbox continent' (for the roads of Roman Cyprus, see Bekker-Nielsen 2004). When an archaeology of the sea is connected to that of the land, Cyprus' coastal cities appear as coastscape nodes in a larger network of landscapes that were experienced by a range of peoples who could likely move between the hinterland, the coast, the sea, and even adjacent mainlands, and could actively manipulate their insularity in accordance with whom they interacted. The Cypriot cities of the coast could act as liminal points between the Roman Mediterranean

and hinterland areas where – as recent studies suggest – the Cypriot resources of copper, grain, and wine continued to be produced and exported for significant profit (Michaelides 1996, 144, 148; Potter 2000, 849; Leonard 2005, 945–59).

The image of Cyprus as a connected island with multiple landscapes – and thus varying levels of connectivity and notions of insularity – is further supported by studies of early Roman ceramics. Through analyses of amphorae that support Leidwanger's views of Cypriot maritime networks as a mix of short and long range connections, Anthi Kaldeli (2013, 132) has convincingly argued that 'Cyprus, as shown by the vast amphora types that were imported throughout the early Roman period, was central in the exchange networks that operated in the eastern Mediterranean basin' (see also Lund 2015, 163–210). Kaldeli (2013, 130–132) has statistically compared the origins of amphorae recovered from the Roman capital of Nea Paphos in southwest Cyprus to those from the city of Amathus on Cyprus' south central coast. Her results have shown that, despite the cities' propinquity and their receipt of both regional and western products, Nea Paphos and Amathus were involved in different exchange networks and received products via different distribution mechanisms. According to Kaldeli, Nea Paphos, as Roman Cyprus' capital city (and as a possible stop for *annona* grain ships) was closely connected to western trading networks linked to other major Mediterranean ports including Rome, whereby products, such as Spanish amphorae, could even be sent to Cyprus directly. On the other hand, Amathus was mainly involved in regional trade, with most products coming from the northern Levant and a sprinkling of western goods. Kaldeli's (2013, 131) conclusions reinforce Cyprus' centrality in both regional and empire-wide trading networks, and also emphasise the scalar and distributional complexity of market exchanges and cross-cultural interaction within the various landscapes, a fact, which she attributes to 'the island-specific traits of the Cypriot economy.'

John Lund's studies of a range of ceramic types, and especially early Roman finewares and 'pinched-handle' amphorae, further bolster Leidwanger's and Kaldeli's perspectives on the complexity of Cypriot connectivity (Lund 2015, 240). First, in his study of the so-called 'Aradippou Goblet' (Fig. 8), an early Roman-era, locally-produced, drinking cup with a conical foot, Lund (2005, 68, 80; 2015, 108–110) showed that the trade of 'south-eastern Cyprus differs in certain respects from that of western Cyprus' and that some products might have been produced in a circumscribed local area (in this case, near the site of Panayia Ematousa) and distributed only locally via markets or fairs (Lund 2005, 68, 80; in terms of local distribution, Lund [2015, 154–161] has recently identified six unique 'ceramic regions' on Cyprus based on quantifiable distribution patterns). Second, that southeastern Cyprus was a regional economic zone is also supported by Lund's study of the presence of sigillata types in Cyprus. Cypriot Sigillata (or Eastern Sigillata D, which was likely produced in the Nea Paphos area) is primarily found in western regions, while Eastern Sigillata A is more common in the southeast (Lund 2006a, 36–37; 41). In an additional study that analyzed finds of Cypriot Sigillata as an index of trade, Lund convincingly argued that Egypt, Rough Cilicia, Crete, Syria,

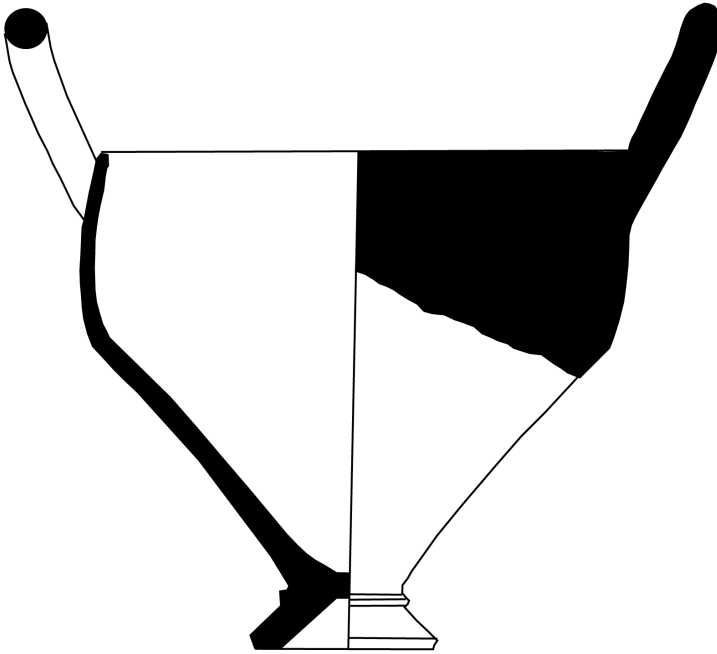


Fig. 8: An example of the Aradippou goblet. Drawing by author, after Lund (2005, 70, fig. C). Rough dimensions, according to Lund (2006b, 194): diameter 10 cm, base diameter 3.6 cm, height without handles 9.7 cm, height with handles 12.7 cm.

and Palestine were strong trading partners with Cyprus during early Roman times (Lund 1997, 208–211). Finally, Lund has also explored both the regional diversity of Cypriot exchange networks and Cyprus' connections to Rough Cilicia in a study that showed how eastern Cilicia and eastern Cyprus were likely within one and the same distribution region, whereas western Cilicia and western Cyprus were in another (Lund 2013a, 195; Lund 2013b, 161; Lund 2015, 181 fig. 255; see also Autret 2012). Such startling conclusions break down Cyprus' insularity by integrating Cypriots into trading networks with strong links to continental coastlines. However, they also support the idea that, on large Roman islands, a variety of islandscapes existed whose people might negotiate their connectedness with mainlands in diverse and unexpected ways (for more on the possible human reasons for such islandscapes, see Lund 2015, 233–236).

The section's purpose has been to show how an archaeology of the sea can complement that of the land to reveal how Cyprus had multiple islandscapes that were unique to a large sea-girt island in the Roman Mediterranean. Given the differing levels of connectivity and isolation influenced by Rome's political disinterest and by long-term Cypriot practices, it appears that there could have been a range of landscape-based notions of insularity that would have affected the material expression of identities in Roman Cyprus.

Insularities and Identities in the Archaeology of Roman Cyprus: A Survey of Coins, Sculpture, and Architecture

The ceramic studies discussed above provide archaeologically legible glimpses into the different perspectives Cypriots could cultivate as islanders living in the Roman Mediterranean (for more on ceramics and regional identity in Roman Cyprus, see Lund 2015, 23–36). Some Cypriots used local products made on the island, such as ‘Aridippou goblets,’ while others used tablewares or ate foods more similar to those consumed on nearby continents than to types utilised on Cyprus itself. The presence of topographical features (*e.g.*, mountains), currents, winds, havens, sea-routes, and specific types of commodity exchange are all factors that may have affected such active material culture choices. However, it is also clear that Cyprus’ long-term island features and its increased connectivity in Roman times were both factors that influenced the formation of localised notions of insularity. In the following section, I show how various forms of insularity shaped by specific islandscapes could condition Cypriot attempts to distinguish themselves, both locally and regionally, through coins, sculpture, and architecture.

The Numismatic Evidence

Provincial coins provide an excellent insight into negotiations over identity because they were regulated by Rome, yet they also had to be meaningful to islanders living in specific islandscapes and those who wished to distinguish Cyprus culturally in relation to the greater empire (Howgego 2005, 1–2). Roman Cypriot coins were primarily small denomination bronzes minted in the capital of Nea Paphos (Parks 2004, 35). Danielle Parks (2004, 159–161) proved that they were a relatively ‘insular’ form of material culture in that they have rarely been discovered outside of Cyprus. Today, most Roman coins are discovered in Cypriot coastal cities where they facilitated transactions between people frequenting these islandscapes (Parks 2004, 138–143). Thus, a diachronic overview of these coins’ imagery and legends sheds light on how Cypriots living in such ‘coastsapes’ – and the Romans who governed them – chose to emblematised Cyprus as a Roman province.

The first coins minted in the post-conquest period introduce Augustus with an obverse portrait and declare his power via Latin legends and a reverse image of Nike/Victoria (Parks 2004, 37, no. 1). Later in his reign, however, two reverse images appeared that would be frequently used throughout the first two centuries AD: the Temple of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos, and the Statue of Zeus Salaminios at Salamis (Parks 2004, 39–43, nos. 2a and 2b). These images reveal a dialogue with extra-insular trends in that they mimic other civic coinages from the Roman east likely used by Cypriots who engaged in maritime trade, or who interacted with non-Cypriot traders in Cypriot ports. However, the coins further display religious monuments, such as the Temple of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos, whose distinct ancient tripartite architecture was maintained even in Roman times likely because of the cult’s deep antiquity and

its inherent cultural capital within the Greco-Roman religious world as the site of the Κυπρογενεά's emergence from the ἀφρὸς (Hes. *Theog.* 188–200).

The choice of Aphrodite's temple may have also been made to appeal not only to Cypriots, but also to Augustan propagandists who traced the Julio-Claudian house to a *Kyprogenesis* (Zanker 1990, 195; Flemberg 1995, 119). In this way, a metaphorical connection between Cyprus and the empire that would chime with emergent maritime ones could be created that mutually benefited both coloniser and colonised (such connections are also visible in epigraphy, such as the so-called 'Oath of Allegiance of Tiberius'; see Fujii 2013, 77–91). Through this numismatic iconography, Roman agents might have increased Cypriots' feelings of inclusion within the empire – and hence, political stability in a newly conquered province – while Cypriots may have felt a sense of local cultural recognition – that may have helped them in socio-economic terms (e.g., earthquake relief) – within a massive empire teeming with cities and provinces competing for imperial patronage, and perhaps, economic contracts (for Augustus granting earthquake relief to Nea Paphos, see Cass. Dio. 54.23.7; for competition among cities in the Roman east, see Burrell 2004, 343).

The numismatic imagery may also hint at the existence of two Cypriot islandscapes – each centred around two such competing cities – with different economic and cultural orientations: one based in Nea Paphos (whose patroness was Aphrodite) in the west, and another based in Salamis (whose patron was Zeus) in the east (for possible explanations of regional cultural differences in Roman Cyprus, see Lund 2015, 233–236). Such a divide is supported by the ceramic evidence presented above, which indicates that western and eastern Cyprus were involved in different exchange networks, while Ammianus Marcellinus' (14.8.14) quote about Cyprus explicitly points out the religious prestige and main cults that still characterised Nea Paphos and Salamis even in the fourth century AD. Yet despite these regional cultural differences, it seems that when the 'Aphrodite' and 'Zeus' coin designs were selected, the proconsul and his advisors (who likely included at least some of the local elites – e.g., elite members of the *koinon Kyprion*, the league of Cypriot cities – who would use the coins) were careful to select local symbols that could also link Cyprus as a whole to the empire. As stated, Aphrodite/Venus could be linked to Julio-Claudian myth-history, while Zeus/Jupiter could also be a god of kings and, more importantly, *sebastoi*. Through such iconographic choices, Cypriots could represent two of the island's most significant islandscapes, while the Roman government could re-emphasise the empire's relatively recent incorporation of the island into *Mare Nostrum*. The coins of early Roman Cyprus reveal the existence of micro-regional islandscapes and identities as well as the socio-political changes that reflect the reality of imperial incorporation. Thus, they also shed light on how different levels of connectivity – and hence, notions of insularity – could influence their designs.

The Sculptural Evidence

The sculpture of Roman Cyprus provides further evidence for the effect of Cyprus' different islandscapes on local identities. At coastal sites like Nea Paphos and Salamis,

most sculptural remains consist of imported marble statues of Greco-Roman deities of second century date derived from either elite domestic or public contexts (Fejfer 2006, 82; Fejfer 2013, 172–175). These statues functioned as advertisements of their dedicators' socio-economic status and familiarity with the imperial culture that preserved it (Kousser 2008, 82–83). Such choices suggest that elite Cypriots identified with the urbane tastes of extra-insular elite *cognoscenti*, and that these social bonds were likely cultivated either through trading or political connections. Although we have some sense of these elite external connections (e.g., some elites were 'ambassadors to the emperor'), in general their nature remains relatively unclear, and so an analysis of Cypriot statuary is valuable in that it shows how cultural negotiations aimed at socio-political gain might occur through Cypriots' manipulation of sculptural styles imbued with imperial as well as insular meanings (for embassies to the emperors, see Tac. Ann. 3.62; Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, no. 106; Yon *et al.* 2004, nos. 2042, 2043; for other contacts, see Kaldeli 2009, 369; Fujii 2013, 159–160). For example, a statue of Zeus Capitolinus, which would have had a polyvocal meaning as an imperial and civic deity, was imported to Salamis and erected in the city's gymnasium (Jitta 1938,

51; Karageorghis 1964, 31–32, no. 25, pl. XXIX; Fejfer 2013, 185–187). Although the statue could have simply functioned as a decorative piece, the selection of this particular representation of a tutelary deity may have expressed the dedicator's civic importance, cultural sophistication, and loyalty to Rome to both local – politically powerful – visiting viewers.

Such polyvocality is also evident in the statue of Aphrodite *Armata* discovered at the House of Theseus in the provincial capital of Nea Paphos (Fig. 9; Daszewski 1982, 201; Fejfer 2006, 115; Fejfer 2013, 190–191). This under-lifesize statue represents a typical nude Aphrodite, yet her body is tense as she brandishes a sword (now lost) above her head, a gesture that Flemberg (1995, 112–113) suggests was a local modification to a small marble copy of an original Hellenistic antecedent. According to Fejfer (2006, 115), this second century AD statue may have been displayed in the house's entrance hall where both Cypriots and Roman administrators could

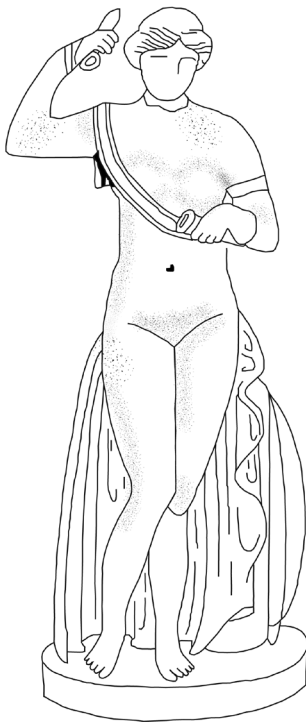


Fig. 9: A reconstruction of the Aphrodite *Armata* statue from the House of Theseus at Nea Paphos (Drawing by author, after Daszewski 1982, 199, fig. 1).

have viewed it. Like the Zeus Capitolinus at Salamis, this uniquely configured marble import may have been erected in this specific context because it transmitted polyvocal messages about Cyprus' imperial position that depended on the viewer. For Romans or non-Cypriot elites, Aphrodite could have been linked to Roma, and her brandished sword may have symbolically re-emphasised the empire's control over Venus' island (for the political messages of the armed Roman Venus, see Flemberg 1995, 120). For an islander, the statue may have represented Aphrodite's protection of Cyprus and her people's willingness to stand with Rome. The Aphrodite *Armata* thus illustrates local individuals' ability to express a strategically mixed, cultural identity conditioned by Nea Paphos's outward-looking islandscape.

Other Cypriot landscapes could produce sculptural expressions of identity that were different than those found in coastal cities. Although Cyprus' resource-rich interior was connected to the coast by an extensive road system, its different level of extra and intra-insular connectivity produced different lifestyles. Archaeological sites in the Cypriot interior have provided scant evidence for the cultural sophistication typical of the hyperconnected coast (with the possible exception of Chytroi [modern Kythrea], where an over-lifesize, heroically nude, bronze statue of Septimius Severus was found; see Fejfer 2013, 173 fig. 1). Extra-insular connections were not impossible, yet it seems that the coastal cities parasitically attracted resources and people from the interior in a manner that curtailed urban development in the hinterland during early Roman times (Leonard 2005, 12–15; Kaldeli 2013, 132; the expansion of rural settlement did not begin until the fifth century AD, see Rautman 2003, 253). Without direct connections to external trade and the social connections that accompanied them, Cypriots at interior sites, like Tremithus and Golgoi, may have lived at a relatively lower economic level than their coastal contemporaries (Mitford 1980, 1332; it should also be kept in mind that neither Golgoi nor Tremithus have been properly excavated because of the 'Cyprus Problem'). Perhaps due to this scenario, marble sculptural imports of Roman date have rarely been excavated at interior sites. Instead, the evidence suggests that Cypriots continued to create sculptures made from local limestone that looked both inwards and outwards, and were stylistically situated between the past and present.

For example, funerary sculpture developed in ways that were very different from coastal trends. One genre, represented by a stele from Tremithus, illustrates a familiarity with Julio-Claudian portraiture probably gleaned from coins or imperial portraits (Parks 1999, 140; Poyiadji-Richter 2009, 181–182). A second type is funerary sculptures that show a continued engagement with the styles of votive sculptures used in traditional open-air sanctuaries, such as the statue of a woman with a Flavian hairstyle from Golgoi, which was signed by Zoilos Golgios (Karageorghis 2000, 267, no. 431). A final type of funerary sculpture is the so-called funerary bust, or sculpted heads with flat-backed, trunk-like necks that flatten out at the base (for an overview of this sculptural type, see Poyiadji-Richter 2009). Most necks are pierced with holes indicating that they were fastened to poles. These statues indicate some knowledge

of imperial hairstyles; however, their use seems connected to insular cremation traditions, such as those known from the clay heads found in the so-called Cenotaph of Nikokreon, an early Hellenistic pyre tomb (Karageorghis 1982, 168–170). In short, although Cypriots of the interior negotiated with imperial cultural styles, their islandscape may have provided them with neither the wealth nor the connections to a wider community that would cause them to eschew local traditions in the pursuit of extra-insular socio-political recognition via material culture.

The Architectural Evidence

Architectural remains also illustrate how Roman Cyprus' distinct insular connectivity and islandsapes affected local notions of insularity and social identity. As with sculpture, the coastscapes inhabited by elite Cypriots reveal the strongest architectural connections with the Roman world. The public spaces of Nea Paphos and Salamis were crammed with monumental, marble-clad buildings such as theatres, amphitheatres, palaestras, baths, and agoras that signalled a sophistication associated with *Romanitas*, while opulent villas were adorned with exquisite mosaics (for Nea Paphos, see Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 247–297; Kondoleon 1995; for Salamis, see Karageorghis 1969, 165–196). Such islandsapes are not those of a backwater province; instead they seem intimately connected with an economic system and culture that emanated from Rome itself and that active local individuals transformed via a range of intersecting social networks (for trading networks in the Roman Mediterranean, see Terpstra 2013). Cyprus' centrality within maritime networks and Cypriots' ability to collect and export the island's resources for profit – perhaps a result of Rome's relative disinterest in Cyprus due to its perceived unimportance, or, to use Ian Morris' term, the 'advantage' of Cyprus' 'backwardness' – were both factors that shaped social strategies, identities, and notions of insularity in Roman Cyprus.

At sacred sites, a more nuanced dialogue occurred wherein Cypriots curated their archaic, insular traditions in ways that were likely meant to impress elite travelers as well as sailors seeking seamarks (Rainbird 2007, 55–56; Leonard 2005, 325–326). Several coastal temples, such as the tripartite shrine of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos discussed above, retained their traditional forms (Wright 1992, 269). At Kourion, however, a new Temple of Apollo Hylates was built with imperial funds during the reign of Trajan (Fig. 10; for a detailed study, see Sinos 1990). This sacred structure expresses the hybrid cultural identity of its builders in that it combines a traditional Italian prostyle podium design with local Cypriot limestone and eastern, plain-faced Corinthian capitals. The Temple of Apollo Hylates was polyvocal in design and materially expressed a cultural identity that looked outward to Rome while being bounded by its insular, littoral location. A similarly imposing temple, this time dedicated to Cyprus' patroness, Aphrodite, was constructed on the acropolis of Amathus, also perhaps with imperial support (Aupert 1996, 125–129). Although only remnants of the temple are extant, reconstructions envision a prostyle structure that would have been identifiable to non-Cypriot sailors as a 'Roman' seamark, even as it marked the hallowed ground of an



Fig. 10: The (partially reconstructed) Temple of Apollo at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates near the ancient city of Kourion (Photo: author).

ancient local sanctuary famed to Cypriots and Roman poets alike (for mentions of Amathus' myth-history in Roman poetry, see Virg. *Aen.* 10.48–53; Cat. 36.11–17; 68A.11–12; Ov. *Met.* 10.220–221).

With such a complex and polyvocal islandscape facing the sea – and its connection to the political power of Rome – it is unsurprising that the Cypriot hinterland's architecture seems more connected to local insular traditions and lower-class lifestyles than that of contemporary coastal sites (for the decline of inland religious sanctuaries, see Gordon 2012, 481; Papantoniou 2013, 185). As argued above, the Cypriot hinterland betrays the remains of lifestyles that were both detached from the connectivity of the sea as well as the great wealth that trade made possible. The architecture discovered in Cyprus' internal islands is thus distinguished by its lack of ostentation, likely because of

people's reduced financial resources and/or a limited interest in appealing to extra-insular 'Roman' tastes (cf., however, the 4th century AD chariot racing mosaic recently excavated from a Roman house at Akaki, c. 30 kms west of Nicosia in the Mesaoria plain. This find may shed new light on connections between the Cypriot hinterland and the coasts during Roman times). One example of this 'detached' architecture comes in the form of unadorned houses discovered at the rural village of Panayia Ematousa north of Kition (Sørensen 2006, 57–61). Although few architectural remains have been discovered beyond rubble piles and roof tiles, a second interior site that reveals a connection with, but not domination by, Roman markets, might be the smelting workshop at Agia Marina-Mavrovouni in the Troodos foothills (see Graham *et al.* 2006). The workshop likely included a hamlet presumably inhabited by slaves, convicts, and mining personnel, and it is unlikely that opulent architecture was used to house them due to the very sparse archaeological remains. A final site, that of the Archaic through Roman era sanctuary of Athienou-Malloura, retained its Hellenistic peribolos walls even though the sanctuary continued to function during Roman times (Figs. 6 and 11 Toumazou *et al.* 2015, 212–213). Hence, Cyprus' new, central location within a complex congeries of maritime networks created different interior and coastal islandsapes inhabited by people with different viewsheds, different connections, different economic opportunities, and ultimately, different notions of insularity and identity.



Fig. 11: A view of the Malloura Valley and sanctuary site looking inland to the Pentedactylos mountains in the north (Photo: author).

Insularity and Identity in the Roman World: Cypriots as *Nesiotes* in *Mare Nostrum*

‘There are actions and reactions, and here again, if we looked for a necessity, a “law of islands” imposed on men and on human societies, we should find but variety and diversity – evolution, also, the changes wrought by time.’

Lucien Febvre (1924, 223)

‘Embraced on all sides, this handful of earth
Which the sea holds, immobile all around me,
I stand in this corner where nature herself has placed me.’

Vassilis Michaelides
(Lines 120–23 from the poem *Cyprus [to those who say it is not Greek]* translated by
Anagnostopoulos *et al.* 1970)

As the Cypriot national poet, Vassilis Michaelides, argued in the 19th century, both external cultures and Cypriots themselves have always perceived Cyprus as a sea-girt island located in the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean. This perspective was

especially prevalent during the early Roman empire when both elite imperial writers, like Strabo, and Cypriots themselves (*i.e.*, through epigraphy) clearly identified the province as a ‘*nesos*.’ For example, several inscriptions describe political or religious authorities as representing the island of Cyprus as a whole, such as a certain Tiberius Claudius Hyllos Iustus who was ‘ἀρχιερέα τῆς νήσου,’ (Yon *et al.* 2004, no. 2037) or a certain Heracleides who was ‘πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς νήσου’ (Yon *et al.* 2004, no. 2042). Yet, despite such observations, there are virtually no theoretically-nuanced archaeological studies that explore how Cypriots’ notions of insularity and identity were uniquely transformed as they grappled with the political reality of the Roman conquest. Instead, the archaeological focus has too often been on ‘a uniformity in material civilization’ in Roman Cyprus that resulted from the island’s loss of isolation as it was integrated into imperial economic and political systems and politically and economically dominated by extra-insular forces.

This paper’s goal has been to integrate new theoretical approaches and rarely combined forms of material evidence in order to sketch an island archaeology for Roman Cyprus that can help to explain how the diverse local identities evident in the Cypriot archaeological record might have been influenced by historically and spatially contingent notions of insularity. At the same time, this study represents merely one island-archaeology of Roman Cyprus out of the many that could be written, and I encourage other archaeologists with different skill sets (*e.g.*, Lund’s [2015] study of ceramics marks an important and timely contribution) to engage further with this theoretical approach.

To sum up, I want to review a few key points about insularity and identity in Roman Cyprus that may be of value to both Romanists and island archaeologists. First, through an island archaeology that stresses maritime connectivity and islander perspectives, it becomes clear that Cypriots could construct their identities in distinct ways partly because of Rome’s relatively disinterested agenda for the province. This agenda was conditioned not only by Cyprus’ biogeographical aspects, but also by Cyprus’ long-term cultural traditions, such as the worship of Aphrodite/Venus. This imperial attitude (along with the peace, *koine* Greek language, and currency that facilitated trade) and Cyprus’ establishment as a lightly administered province, (ultimately separated from Cilicia, perhaps mainly *because* of its sea-girt nature) constituted ‘advantages of backwardness’ that allowed Cypriots to engage in economic endeavours that were previously impossible under Ptolemaic autocracy. Thus, elite Cypriots developed a historically-contingent insular, yet strategically cosmopolitan, cultural identity that was strongly connected to the outside world (due to the trade and success protected by the *Pax Romana*) and that encouraged them to engage with material expressions of *Romanitas* – such as coinage, sculpture, and architecture – in polyvocal ways that were intelligible across the imperial/island coastscape (for more on the diachronic influence of imperial peace on economic prosperity in ancient Cyprus, see Cosentino 2013, 94). Cypriots’ choices helped an imperial political economy based on trade and exchange (and ultimately, the centre’s exploitation of the provincial periphery)

to grow while imperial cultural unity was strengthened, even through its diversity (Hingley 2005, 120; Kaldeli 2013, 124, 132).

A second key point is that Cyprus' large size and Cypriots' participation in the complex exchange systems of the Roman empire resulted in different islandscapes whose inhabitants could have varying identities. Cypriot elites who lived on the coasts looked outward, yet those in different cities, such as Nea Paphos and Salamis, could have looked in slightly different directions through their participation in different trading networks and due to the prestige of each metropolis' specific civic and religious history. An examination of the architecture and sculpture of these coastal cities also shows that most elites cultivated a social identity similar to that of mainland ports or even Rome itself. On the other hand, Cypriots whose islandscapes stretched from the interior to the coast constructed identities based on a different social level and ones that expressed more of a connection with traditional customs. These islanders' sculptural products reveal a cultural identity with connections to the Cypriot past, while their unelaborate houses depict a more simple life that was less connected to imperial networks.

Overall, the diverse identities that can be read through an island archaeology of Roman Cyprus seem to have been uniquely shaped by the fact that Cyprus *was an island*, both physically and in the Roman imagination. Given island archaeology's potential for creating a history for islanders, one hopes that future research focused on maritime archaeology, the Cypriot economy, Cyprus' extra/intra-insular connections, and how notions of insularity changed diachronically, might yield further insights on Roman Cypriot insularity. As Bernard Knapp (2008, 18) has argued, insularity is 'the quality of being isolated as a result of living on islands'; it appears that this quality of being was indeed felt in Roman Cyprus, that it was 'contingent in space and time,' and that it could 'be adopted or adapted as individual or wider social concerns' dictated.

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Chapter 3

In the Heart of the Wine-Dark Sea: Cretan Insularity and Identity in the Roman Period

Anna Kouremenos

‘Insularity poses special restraints and offers special opportunities; it demands risks, provides benefits, and can modify social and politico-economic developments in unique and often unpredictable ways. What is important is the way people manipulate insularity, in distinctive ways, in different times and places’

Knapp (2007, 50)

Introduction

In *The Odyssey* 19.169–174 Homer describes Crete as a land of one hundred cities: ‘Out in the wine-dark sea lies a land called Crete, a rich and lovely island. It is filled with countless people, in one hundred cities. They are not of one language, but speak several tongues. There are Achaeans there, and brave Eteocretans, Kydonians, three races of Dorians, and noble Pelasgians too. One of the cities is mighty Knossos, where Minos ruled, and every nine years spoke with mighty Zeus.’ This passage illustrates the large population and ethnic diversity on Crete at the time of the formation of the epic tradition (perhaps the eighth century BC) that we find in *The Odyssey*. Homer lists five ethnic groups living in Crete and gives them specific locations on the island, thus ‘dividing’ it along ethnic lines. One of these ethnic groups, the Dorians, also colonised the region of Cyrenaica in North Africa and it is surmised by some scholars that the common dialect and history may have been one of the reasons that in the first century BC, the Romans decided to unite Crete and Cyrenaica into a single province known as *Creta et Cyrene* (Fig. 12).¹

The subject of this paper is not Crete during the so-called Dark Age, but a much lesser – until recently – studied period on the island. In order to understand Roman Crete, however, the history of preceding periods on the island need to be considered which will help answer two important questions: how did Roman Crete differ from



Fig. 12: Map of the province of Creta et Cyrene (Maxine Anastasi).

Crete as envisaged by the epic tradition of the 8th and 7th centuries BC? What defined Cretan insularity and identity during the Roman period? In this paper, I will show that Crete under Roman rule was a vastly different island from Crete described by Homer in *The Odyssey*.

A major problem confronting the scholar of Crete during the Roman period is the relative silence of ancient sources regarding life on the island, a trait shared also with another large island in the eastern part of the empire, Cyprus (Gordon in this volume). With some exceptions – *e.g.*, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Pliny the Elder – most historians living in the Roman period did not seem to concern themselves greatly with Crete, or at least such is the picture painted by the surviving texts. In order to comprehend Cretan insularity and identity, then, we must rely heavily on the archaeological record which is itself fragmentary, and what little remains is often difficult to piece together as few excavations set out with the explicit purpose of recovering remains of the Roman period (Kouremenos 2013 and forthcoming).² However, enough information from disparate sources can be pieced together for several conclusions about life on the island in the Roman period to be drawn. First, we need to consider Crete's geography and climatic features as they played a key role in shaping its insularity and identity. Then, we shall delve into the available historical sources and archaeological material in order to understand the political and cultural milieu that shaped much of the island's prosperity and contributed to its fame as a land of abundance and legends.

From the Archaic Period to the Roman Conquest

From the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, Crete was an island of many cities characterised by inter-city warfare for land, resources, and honor (Chaniotis 1996, 27–56; 2005a, 9–12; 2008, 85). While various cities on the island had been united in alliances, they had never formed a single coalition that comprised the entire island (Chaniotis 1996, 99–100). What these independent *poleis* had in common, however, was a type of social organisation that had its roots in the so-called Dark Age (c. 1100–800 BC) and survived until the island's conquest by Rome in 67 BC. At the heart of this social system was the military training of the youth and the organisation of citizens in *andreia* (men's club houses). The system was further supported by the establishment of an agrarian economy geared towards the funding of communal public meals, the *syssitia* (Chaniotis 2008, 86).³ The formation of this communal dining system appears to have prevented private symposia from taking place in Cretan *poleis* as was common in most other Greek states.⁴ A passage in *Athenaeus* (*Deipnosophistae* 4.143) quoting the Cretan historian Dosiadas,⁵ provides some information about what went on in the *andreia* of Lyttos, one of the most important Cretan cities in the Classical and Hellenistic periods:

The Lyttians pool their goods from the common mess in this way: every man contributes a tithe of his crops to his club, as well as the income from the state which the magistrates of the city divide among the households of all the citizens. The citizens are distributed in clubs which are called andreia. The mess is in the charge of a woman who has assistants, three or four men chosen from the common people. ... Everywhere throughout Crete there are two houses for the public messes; one of these is called the andreion, the other, in which they entertain strangers is called the koimeterion. In the house intended for the mess there are set out, first of all, two tables called 'guest-tables', at which sit in honor any strangers who are in town; next come the tables for the others. An equal portion of the food on hand is served to each person, but only a half-portion of meat is given to the younger men, and they get nothing of the other food. Then on each table is placed a cup filled with wine much diluted; this is shared by all who are at the same table, and a second cup is served after they have finished the meal. ... After dinner, they are in the habit first of deliberating on public affairs; from that subject they proceed to call up deeds of prowess in war and to praise men of proved bravery, in order to encourage the younger men in the pursuit of virtue.

In this passage we see that in the *andreia* there was a hierarchy between groups of individual men based on age and that discussions about public affairs and praise of men who had proven themselves in war took place in a public rather than a household setting that accommodated symposia. The passage also reveals that private ownership of land and produce was under the control of the polis. Dosiadas' account is also supported by a passage in Ephorus, who states that the Cretan system fed the citizens at public expense, which created the appearance of equality among male citizens in a Cretan polis.⁶ All land was administered by a privileged group of warrior-citizens and, as a result, excessive displays of private wealth were frowned upon. Epigraphic documents from the Hellenistic period, the clear majority of which are predominantly

public, anonymous, masculine and local, also support the general view that drawing attention to the individual self at the expense of the social group was not part of the Cretan mentality before the Roman period (Chaniotis 2004).

Sanders argues that, during the Hellenistic period, urban sites dominated the settlement pattern chiefly because continual warfare meant that citizens would be safer in a city than in the countryside (Sanders 1982, 30). More importantly, Doric customs were centered on city life and it was not until the Roman period that private estates in the countryside became important symbols of status (Sanders 1982, 30; see also Raab 2001). By the first century BC, the island's archaic social system could not be reconciled with Roman rule and, as a result, the *syssitia* were abolished (Chaniotis 2008).

Roman involvement in Crete goes back to the early second century BC, when inter-city warfare led individual cities on the island to invite Rome as a chief negotiator and mediator (Sanders 1982, 3; Harrison 1993, 16; Chaniotis 2005, 139). The first major involvement in Cretan affairs occurred in 195 BC, when Rome ordered Nabis of Sparta to hand over his possessions on Crete (Livy 34.35.9). Five years later, in 189 BC, the praetor Q. Fabius Labeo arrived on the island as a mediator in the war between Kydonia and the alliance between Gortyn and Knossos. During this turbulent period, Roman prisoners were held on the island and Labeo was successful in securing their release (Livy 37.60). This event was followed by a series of further mediations throughout the second century BC, including one where Rome ended a war between Knossos and Gortyn (Polybius 22.15.3), and an arbitration in a land dispute between Hierapytna and Itanos (IC 3.4.9; see also Gruen 1984, 116–117; de Souza 1998, 112). In 85 BC, more than one century of mediations and arbitrations culminated in L. Licinius Lucullus' visit to the island, where he supposedly settled the affairs of the islanders while on a search for naval forces in the war against Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus (Plutarch, *Life of Lucullus*, 2–3; see also de Souza 1998, 112). By 71 BC, however, the Romans came to Crete not as mediators but as conquerors under the pretext that the Cretans were aiding Rome's enemy, Mithradates, and that Cretan pirates were threatening Roman ships (Diodorus Siculus 40.1; Livy 97). M. Antonius, praetor and father of the well-known Mark Antony, arrived on the island with a Roman fleet in order to deal with the matter only to suffer a humiliating defeat by a force of 24,000 Cretans under the leadership of the Knossian Lasthenes and the Kydonian Panares (Velleius Paterculus 2.34.1). Roman prisoners were captured by the Cretans during M. Antonius' campaign and this led the Senate to pass an edict where the islanders were ordered to hand over 300 hostages in addition to the huge sum of 4,000 talents of silver (Diodorus Siculus 40.1; Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, 45). This enormous amount, equivalent to half the tribute the Romans received from all their Eastern provinces combined, is indicative of the island's great wealth (Chaniotis 2008, 87). The Cretans refused the terms and in 69 BC, the Romans responded by sending Q. Caecilius Metellus with three legions in order to crush the islanders.

From 69 to 67 BC, most of the Cretan cities fell successively to the invaders while others, such as Polyrrhenia and Gortyn, chose to remain neutral. For his victory,

the senate awarded the title of *Creticus* to Metellus and the property of Lasthenes at Knossos was destroyed (Appian, *Sicelica*, 6.5). Sometime after 44 BC, Crete was joined with Cyrenaica in North Africa, which had already been willed to Rome by Ptolemy Apion in 96 BC (CAM X, 630–631; see also Tod 1932; Chevroliier 2016), to form the province of *Creta et Cyrene*,⁷ one of only two double provinces in the Roman Empire.⁸ The joint province was governed by a proconsul of praetorian rank and Gortyn in south Crete became its capital. At first glance, the choice of Gortyn as capital instead of Knossos might seem somewhat surprising, but the fact that Gortyn was neutral during the Roman invasion of Crete won it the benevolence of the Romans (see Chevroliier 2016; Lippolis 2016). In addition, the convenient location of the city in southern Crete coupled with its fertile hinterland and the possession of two harbors at Lebena and Matala made it an attractive agricultural and commercial center, especially for trade with North Africa (Alcock 2002, 104). Strabo states that the journey from Gortyn to Apollonia, the port of Cyrene, took two days and nights (Strabo, 10.4.5), which is a much shorter sailing distance than from any harbor of northern Crete. It is therefore not surprising that the Romans chose to make Gortyn the capital of the double province.

There is a relative lack of information about the history of Crete between 67 and 27 BC, including accounts on how the island was administered with Cyrenaica. This is mostly due to the silence of historical sources and the difficulty in drawing conclusions from the scarcity of the archaeological remains that can be attributed to this time period. As a result, potential conclusions often need to be pieced together from indirect information.⁹ We know, for example, that the governor of Crete in 50 BC was Cn. Tremellius Scrofa who was an agricultural expert; the Romans might have assigned him this position in order to exploit the island's natural resources (Cicero, *Ep.Ad.Att.* 6.1.13). In 58–50 BC, Caesar employed archers from Crete during his campaigns in Gaul (Caesar, *Gallie War* 11.7; Caesar, *Civil War* 3.4.1), while some years later Antony apparently gave the whole or a part of the island as a gift to Cleopatra VII (Cassius Dio 49.32.5). When Octavian emerged as victor against Antony and Cleopatra in the Battle of Actium in 31 BC, he took possession of Antony's former realm and reorganised the provinces. Furthermore, Octavian appears to have respected Antony's earlier designation of Crete and Cyrenaica as dowry for Cleopatra Selene, the latter's daughter by Cleopatra VII, and this fact may have given him the idea for joining the two regions into a single province.¹⁰

On the basis of an honorary dedication on an altar in Herculaneum, it emerges that M. Nonius Balbus, proconsul and patron of *Creta et Cyrene* around 25 BC, may have been responsible for the reorganisation of Crete as he was honored by the *commune Cretesium* by both the Knossians and the Gortynians (CIL X 1425–1434; Pagano 2004, 29–32; Bechert 2011, 28; Bowsky 2011, 122). It is probable that Balbus was the very first proconsul of the joint province and that the establishment of *Creta et Cyrene* occurred a couple of years earlier.

Why were the two regions united into a single province in the first century BC? The obvious answer is that the population of Cyrenaica was too small to make it a

province on its own.¹¹ Crete and Cyrenaica were also closely connected commercially through their main harbors more closely than Cyrenaica was connected to Egypt or Tripolitania. As Chamoux notes, the distance between Apollonia in Cyrenaica and the south shore of Crete is only 300 kilometers; by contrast, one must travel 800 kilometers from Cyrene to Alexandria and 900 kilometers from Berenike to Lepcis Magna through the desert (Chamoux 1952, 12–14; Chevrollier 2016). A further reason for uniting Crete and Cyrenaica into a single province was Rome's continuous struggle against piracy (Chevrollier 2016). Pirates in the Libyan Sea often cut the southern Mediterranean into two parts and trade with Egypt may have been affected by this situation. Thus, the unification of Crete and Cyrenaica into a single province brought an end to piracy in both regions. With the formation of the double-province and the establishment of the capital at Gortyn, Crete's position within the Roman Empire was consolidated.

Defining Cretan insularity in the Roman period: spotlight on the island's environment and economy

The concept of insularity has only recently been considered in detail by archaeologists of the Roman period. Building on the work of scholars specialising on Bronze Age and Classical Period insularities (*e.g.*, Doumas 1983; 2016; Knapp 2008; Constantakopoulou 2010; Broodbank 2013) as well as on current theoretical approaches to identity, mobility, and connectivity, a more coherent approach to insularity in the Roman Mediterranean can be formed. As noted above, one cannot discuss Cretan insularity in the Roman period without possessing a substantial understanding of the island's previous periods all the way back to the Minoan. While it is not the aim of this paper to highlight pre-Roman Crete, it is imperative to mention that what shaped Cretan insularity and identity in the Roman period is inevitably tied to pre-Roman antecedents (see *e.g.*, Sanders 1982; Chaniotis 1999; 2004; 2008; Sweetman 2011; 2013; Francis and Kouremenos 2016; Kouremenos 2013; 2016; forthcoming).

Insularity as a term has two different meanings. The first is 'the condition of being an island' and the second is 'a state of isolation'. Islands may be envisioned as isolated entities, but connectivity with the mainland and other islands does not warrant their isolation. What does living on an island entail for an individual's and a group's identity? Even today, when one asks people who have been born and raised on islands 'what does being an islander mean to you?', the answers will vary; for one person, being an islander means being 'at once alone and at the center of the world' while for another it is 'being confined to a landmass and limited in terms of mobility' (personal communication); still another – rather poignant – answer was 'my island is the center of the universe'. In antiquity, islanders may or may not have ascribed similar multiple meanings to their own insularities, but in the case of Crete, the lack of historical accounts by the Cretans themselves leaves us with little understanding of what insularity meant to them. Thus, in their absence, we must rely on the scant

Roman historical accounts and our understanding of the archaeological record in order to form a coherent picture of Cretan insularity and identity in the Roman period.

What features make a landmass an island? Strabo, writing in the early first century AD, states that ‘most of all it is the sea that delineates precisely the layout of the land, creating gulfs, sea-basins, traversable narrows and in the same way isthmuses, peninsulas and capes; in this the rivers and mountains also play their part’ (Strabo, *Geography* 2.5.17). Modern scholars of insularity and identity focus more on islands as environment systems that allow for the development of distinct insular cultures. Walsh, for example, argues that ‘islands possess a series of environmental characteristics that differentiate them from continents, and these characteristics will have influenced the development of insular cultures’ (Walsh 2014, 235). For Knapp and others before him (*e.g.*, Patton 1996; Flenley and Bahn 2003), what sets islands apart from the mainland are often their peculiar mini- or mega-fauna, or what are considered as ‘enigmatic’ human cultures and unusual types of material culture such as imagery, memory, metallurgy and monumental architecture (Knapp 2008, 39). For Constantakopoulou, islands are defined as places of ‘interaction, integration and connectivity, but also of isolation and uniqueness’ (Constantakopoulou 2010). As is evident in the above descriptions, both ancient and modern authors conceive of insularity differently and no single characterisation can be all-encompassing.

With these definitions in mind, let us consider what defined Cretan insularity and identity in the Roman period. First, we need to take into account briefly the location and topography of the island. Crete lies in the middle of the eastern Mediterranean Sea and is bordered by the Aegean Sea to the north and the Libyan Sea to the south. The distance from west to east is 260 kilometers (160 miles) (Fig. 13), and the narrowest distance between north and south, located in the Gulf of Mirabello, is only

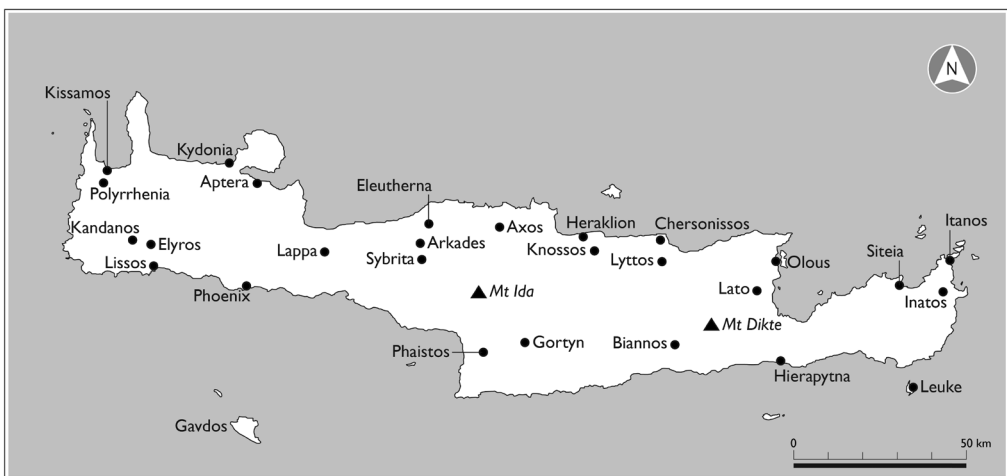


Fig. 13: Map of Crete with major cities (Maxine Anastasi).

12 kilometers; the longest distance in the central part is 56 kilometers (35 miles). The interior of the island is dominated by Mt. Ida (the so-called ‘birthplace’ of Zeus) with an altitude of 2,456 meters. The geographic dichotomy resulting from this mountain range in the middle of the island produced distinct sub-cultures throughout the pre-Roman period, subdividing it roughly into west, central, and east. West Crete is dominated by the White Mountains and due to its geographic location had closer relations with the Peloponnese and the west throughout its history. Central Crete is dominated by Mt. Ida and, as the largest of the three regions mentioned, was the heart of the Minoan civilisation as three major palace sites – Knossos, Phaistos, and Malia – are located in this central region. From the Archaic to the Roman period, two cities dominated this part of the island – Knossos and Gortyn. East Crete is dominated by the Lassithi Plateau and Mt. Dikte and due to their geographic proximity, the cities of east Crete fostered closer relations with Rhodes and the eastern Mediterranean, as can be seen by, for example, alliance treaties between the cities of Hierapytna and Lyttos with Rhodes that were signed in the early 2nd century BC, well before the Roman conquest of the island (*ICret* III, 31–36, no. 3A).¹²

As with all islands, climate is an important factor in defining insularity. Throughout most of the Roman period, the southwest Aegean region including Crete was particularly wet and warm, characterised by mild, wet summers and warm winters as evidenced by stable isotopes and microfossils, speleothems, sapropels, alluvial and core deposits (Moody 2016, 65–67). These climatic conditions favoured abundant vegetation, lengthened growing seasons, and permitted crops like the olive and the vine to grow at higher altitudes (Moody 2016, 66). Climate thus had a significant effect in defining the economy and by extension the insularity of Crete during the Roman period. Much of the wealth of Cretan cities derived from five groups of products in particular, which are described briefly here:

Olives and olive oil

The olive has been cultivated all over Crete since at least the Early Bronze Age (Warren 1972 32–33, 138–139, 255–256, 315–317; Hamilakis 1996, 6–21; Chaniotis and Hadjisavvas 2012, 163–169). Both in the pre-Roman and the Roman periods olive oil was used in cooking and religious and funerary rituals, as fuel for lamps, but also in perfume and cosmetics, unlike North African olive oil, which was second rate and was better suited for lamps and as a massage oil for athletes rather than in cooking or for perfumes and cosmetics (Wilson 2004, 148). However, unlike our historical and archaeological evidence for Cretan wine, evidence for the export of Cretan olive oil beyond the island is lacking. This is almost certainly due to the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record and the miniscule number of sources that describe olive oil in the Roman period, but it is just as likely that Cretan olive oil was not exported in large quantities beyond the island and may have perhaps not been considered of top quality by the Romans.

Historical sources do not mention Cretan olive oil, but installations of olive presses, vases containing olive oil or perfume, and olive pits have been found in many pre-Roman and Roman archaeological sites (Bosanquet 1902, 264–269; Vogeikoff-Brogan and Papadakis 2003, 69; Chaniotis and Hadjisavvas 2012, 167; Kouremenos 2013). The latter category is often overlooked by scholars but archaeological sites contain large quantities associated with baths of the Roman period, such as the case of the 2nd-3rd century AD private bath suite in the House of Phidias at Kissamos, where olive pits were used as fuel for the hypocaust (Kouremenos 2013, 158). It is evident, then, that the consumption of olives and the production of olive oil continued to be important to the Cretan economy well into the Roman period and beyond.

Honey and wax

Like the olive, honey was also produced in Crete long before the Roman period as ceramic beehives from Minoan and Iron Age sites attest (Davaras 1986; Melas 1999; D'Agata and De Angelis 2014; Francis 2016). The Roman invaders would have been aware of the myth of Minos' son Glaukos, who drowned in a vat of honey (Pseudo-Apollodorus 3.3.1) and the island's place as a honey-producing region within the empire was thus assured.

Thyme honey and pine honey, in particular, were the two most common types produced on the island and were exported throughout the empire. Ceramic beehives found in substantial numbers in central and west Crete suggest that these were prime apiculture centers on the island (Francis 2016, 84). Most Cretan honey seems to have been consumed for medicinal purposes; thyme honey was exported to Italy, as an amphora with *dipinti* found in Pompeii indicates (Francis 2016, 96).

Medicinal plants and herbs

Crete has a fertile ecosystem which produces a variety of indigenous plants, about 200 species of which are indigenous to the island. Dictamus (also known as Dittany of Crete today) was perhaps the most well-known medicinal plant from the island; it was used in the healing of wounds, for digestive problems, arthritis, as an aphrodisiac, and as a means to induce abortion in women and goats (see especially Hippocrates 7.348.17; 2.150.19; 172.9; 180.15; Cicero, *de natura deorum* 2.126; Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.412–415; Pliny, *Natural History*, 25.92–94; Plutarch, *Moralia* 974 d; 991e–f). The healing properties of this plant can be seen in a wall painting from the house of Sirico at Pompeii, which shows Aeneas being attended by a physician after he was wounded in battle, while his mother Venus, holding a few branches of dictamus, hastens to nurse his wound (Fig. 14). This scene is described by Virgil in the *Aeneid* 12.411–423.

Other species of plants that grew on the island and were exported as whole plants or as herbal mixtures in medicinal preparations and perfumes included oregano, thyme, Cretan birthwort (*aristolochia cretica*), marshmallow (*althea officinalis*), anise, yellow

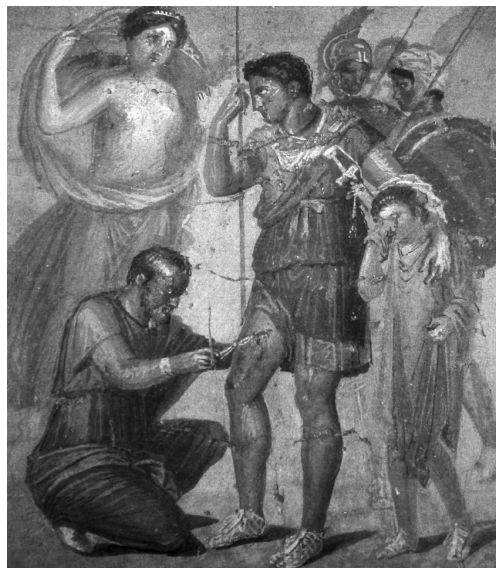


Fig. 14: Wall painting depicting a wounded Aeneas being attended by a doctor, with Venus carrying branches of dictamnus (dittany of Crete). From the house of Siricus, Pompeii, Reg. VII, Ins.1. 1st century AD (National Archaeological Museum of Naples).

gentian, and myrtle among many others (Rouanet-Liesenfelt 1992; Chaniotis 1999, 219–220).

Purple dye

Another product that Crete exported to Rome and other parts of the empire was purple dye derived from murex shells. The small island of Leuke, located 5 km off the modern Cape of Goudouras in the southeast of the island, was one of the prime producers of purple dye; Kydonia and Chersonessos in the north of the island were also important production centers (Bosanquet 1939–1940; Papadakis 1983; Raab 2001, 11; Gliozzo 2007, 74; Gallimore 2011, 484; Sweetman 2012, 31; Koutsinas, Guy and Kelly 2016). Pliny in *Natural History* 35.36 mentions specifically *paraetonium* being exported from Crete to Rome. Like the murex from Leukas

(Zoumbaki in this volume), the Romans used imported Cretan murex in purple dye production by boiling the shellfish in lead vats in order to extract the mollusc's purple color. The few houses that have been excavated on Leuke suggest that their inhabitants made their living partly through trade in purple dye (Papadakis 1979 and 1980); most of the material found in the houses includes large quantities of murex shells as well as parts of nets, needles and other tools associated with fishing and the purple dye industry (personal observation, Archaeological Museum of Siteia).

Wine

The most widely exported Cretan product was wine, of which several varieties were known to have been associated with the island in antiquity. These were aromatic wine (*aromatikos*); light white wine (*hydatodes*); wine with myrtle berries (*myrtites*); grapes imported from Thera which were turned into wine on Crete (*Theraios*); wines mixed with pepper, saffron and honey; wine mixed with seawater; and *passum* or *staphidites* which was a sweet wine mentioned in medicinal texts (Chaniotis and Hadjisavvas 2012, 169).

Historical sources do not explicitly mention the importance of viticultural production in the Cretan economy, but archaeological discoveries, especially those dated from the Augustan period onward, imply that wine producing was probably the



Fig. 15: Part of a Cretan wine amphora found in Caerleon, Wales. LEG II AVG is painted on the neck. On the shoulder is a contents label, 'best quality raisin wine'. 2nd century AD.

most important economic activity in Roman Crete. This is attested by the great number of Cretan amphorae found in numerous Mediterranean sites throughout the Roman Imperial period (Marangou 1999, 269–278). The quality of Cretan *passum*, probably the most popular wine exported from Crete, can be deduced from inscriptions on amphorae found at such cities as Pompeii, Lyon, Athens, and Corinth which declared that they contained *vinum creticum excellens*. Indeed, by the first century AD, Campania was the largest consumer of Cretan wine (Gallimore 2016, 175). In *Natural History*, Book 14, Pliny describes the methods used to make *passum*: 'Cretan wine is made sweet by the grapes being left on the vine longer than usual to ripen in the sun, or else being ripened in boiling oil, after which they were gently beaten and pressed for their juice.' However, Martial gives us a different opinion; he states that Cretan *passum* was of mediocre quality and calls it 'the poor man's wine' (Martial 13.106). *Passum* seems to have been a popular type of wine in the Roman army, as Cretan amphorae of Dressel 43 type have been found not only around the Mediterranean but also in the more remote northern sites such as Caerleon in south Wales and Vindonissa in Switzerland (Williams 2003, 28; van den Berg 2012, 218–219) (Fig. 15).¹³

The trade of these five products was instrumental in making Crete one of the wealthiest regions of the empire. To give an idea of how wealthy Crete was, we only need to take into account Diodorus Siculus' reference, mentioned earlier, to the tribute that the islanders had to pay the Romans: 4,000 talents of silver per year, equivalent to half the sum of the tribute the Romans received from all of their eastern provinces combined. This was a huge sum and is a testament to the wealth the island had generated both before and during the Roman period. Thus, trade brought not only increased connectivity with other parts of the empire but also large amounts of wealth which, like in other parts of the Greek East, led to euergetic activities, both within the island but also outside of it. Note, however, that none of these economic activities had their beginnings in the Roman period; the five categories of products described

above were all produced in and exported from the island long before the advent of Roman rule. Thus, Roman rule in Crete did not bring with it the introduction of new economic activities; what it brought was increased connectivity which allowed Cretan products to be produced en masse and to be exported to other parts of the empire using a trading network that was more complex and reached further than ever before.

Finally, we need to consider the number of cities on the island. In the Roman period, there were not one hundred cities as imagined in the epic poetry of the eighth and seventh centuries BC, but rather about twenty-two (Figs. 16 and 17). The number had dwindled in the early Roman period due to synoecisms with other towns and the movement of upland communities to the coasts in order to profit from trade with both east and west (Kouremenos 2013). This is most evident in the movement of the population from Polyrrhenia, an upland city in western Crete, to the newly established coastal foundation of Kissamos beginning at the end of the first century BC and continuing well into the first century AD (Kouremenos 2015). Compared to the number of inland cities in the Hellenistic period, it is evident that many of the smaller towns in the interior that were built on the foothills of Mt. Ida ceased to exist in the Roman period and nowhere is this more evident than in the area between Knossos and Gortyn, part of which was awarded to veterans from Capua in Italy by Octavian and was known thereafter as the ‘Capuan lands’ (Rigsby 1976, 316–318). Whether this was farmland that was owned by Italians living in the *colonia* of Knossos or the capital of Gortyn is difficult to ascertain in the absence of historical and epigraphic evidence, but what is likely is that the inhabitants of these small inland cities had moved to Knossos or Gortyn by the Roman period.

What brought about this movement from rural, upland areas to civic, coastal areas? In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Crete was characterised by constant warfare

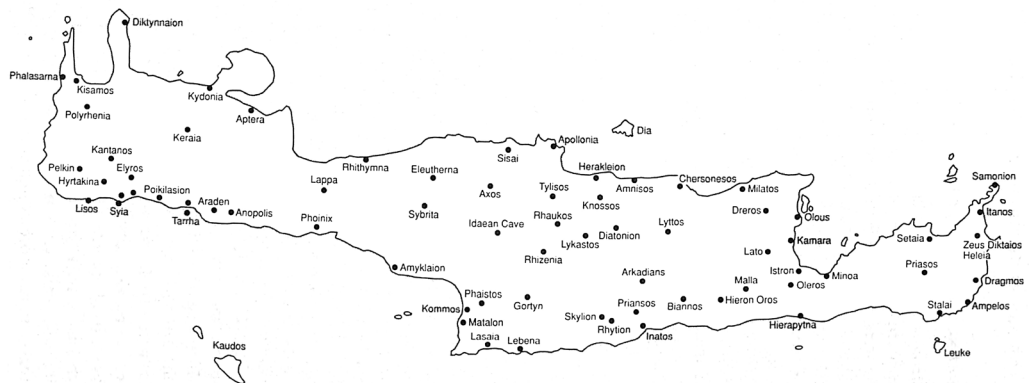


Fig. 16: Map of Hellenistic Crete with major cities (Chaniotis 2004).

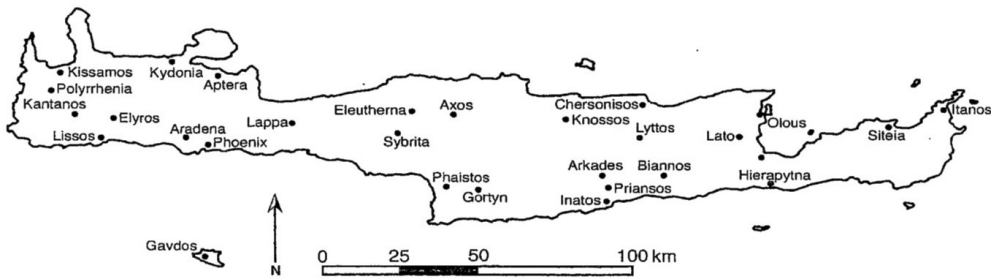


Fig. 17: Map of Roman Crete with major cities (Chaniotis 2004).

between neighboring city states and a social system that favoured the communal and public over the individual and private. The military activities of the Cretans, which were at the heart of the social system in Cretan cities during pre-Roman times, could not be reconciled with Roman rule (Chaniotis 2008). The *syssitia* – the communal meals – which took place in the *andreia*, or men’s club houses, were abolished, and with them the fundamentals of the archaic social system that had existed in Crete for centuries up until the Roman conquest (Chaniotis 2008). The ownership of land was no longer confined to a class of privileged warrior-citizens and the legal and social discrimination of merchants and craftsmen disappeared (Chaniotis 2008). This major shift in the political and social order that arose as a result of the Roman conquest brought increased urbanism and the rise of maritime cities to the island, a trait which is observed in other large islands of the Mediterranean such as Cyprus and Sardinia (Gordon, Roppa in this volume). Although these two large islands did not share the Cretan social system before the advent of Roman rule, the movement from rural to urban, maritime areas was part of a wider trend that took place in many parts of the empire during the imperial period (see *e.g.*, Alcock 1993; Chaniotis 1999; de Ligt and Northwood 2008; Bowman and Wilson 2011; Kouremenos 2015).

In the Hellenistic period, large cities such as Knossos and Gortyn were constantly at war with one another and fought for control of the smaller cities in the interior and on the coast. By the Roman period, three major coastal cities had emerged – Kydonia, Hierapytna, and Kissamos – which dominated the island’s east – west trade route. Together with Gortyn, which was the seat of the Roman governor of *Creta et Cyrene*, they directed the island’s political affairs. Thus, even though the number of cities on the island decreased greatly after the advent of Roman rule, urbanisation, city size and population increased as a result of increased trading opportunities and connectivity with other areas of the empire.

Culture as financial capital

There was, of course, another important source of revenue for the inhabitants of Crete under Roman rule which played a significant role in defining and shaping the islanders’ insularity and identity in the Roman period and beyond. This was cultural capital,¹⁴

embodied by Crete's historical and mythological past. Although Pausanias does not provide a description of Crete in his *Travels in Greece* – and it is not known whether he ever visited the island – tourism was a major source of revenue for the Cretans during the Roman period as it is today. People across the empire were well-aware of myths that had taken place in Crete, with the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur in the labyrinth at Knossos appearing as a favourite theme in art all over the empire. Non-Cretans visiting Crete thus played an important role in defining Cretan identity by ascribing to the island mythical properties and glorifying its ancient past.

The Cretans took advantage of their mythological past by promoting various parts of the island as places with a deep history and as locations for healing. This cultural capital was, of course, utilised by many cities in the Greek provinces during the Roman period, especially from the second century AD onwards when cities all over the eastern provinces were rediscovering and/or re-inventing their ancient pasts (see especially Spawforth and Walker 1985 and 1986; Boatwright 2000; Doukellis 2007). While the examples of Athens and Sparta may be more well-known for historical reasons, Cretan cultural capital was mostly mythological and religious in nature. First and foremost, the island was known as the birthplace of Zeus. Both Mt. Ida in central Crete and Mt. Dykte in east Crete claimed to have been the birthplace of the king of the gods. The Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Ida was full of votive offerings and lamps, dedicated by tourists and worshipers of the god (Sapouna 1998) even before the advent of Roman rule. Lucian in *On Sacrifices* 10 emphasises that the Cretans not only maintain that Zeus was born among them but also point out his tomb; according to the writer, the irony is that people believed thunder and lightning came from the king of the gods when he himself lay buried in the soil of Crete according to the Cretans themselves.

Then, there was Crete as a place of healing, with the temple of Asclepius at Lebena in the south of the island serving as an important sanctuary for those who came to be cured of their ailments. As in every Asclepieion in the Greek world, an ill person would sleep in the temple and wait for a dream that would offer the cure for his or her ailment. Several visitors from Libya are attested epigraphically at Lebena (*ICret* I), as well as the famous 1st century AD sage Apollonius of Tyana who, according to Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* 4.34, visited Mt. Ida, Gortyn, and the temple of Asclepius at Lebena even though he did not suffer from any ailments.

And for the tourist who was a lover of Greek literature, Crete was the land of Homer's heroes: Diktys, Idomeneus and Myriones, who were later worshipped as heroes on the island and, much like Troy and Ithaca (see also Zoumbaki in this volume) attracted tourists who were admirers of the Homeric epics. A curious passage preserved on a papyrus fragment from Tebtunis attributed to the fourth-century AD writer Lucius Septimius describes the supposed tomb of the Cretan hero and author Diktys who fought in the Trojan War and is purported to have written a diary (*epheMERis*) of its events. Lucius Septimius states that:

after many centuries, the tomb of Diktys at Knossos collapsed with age. Then shepherds, wandering near the ruins, stumbled upon a little box skilfully enclosed in tin. Thinking it was treasure, they soon broke it open, but brought to light, instead of gold or some other kind of wealth, books written on linden tablets. Their hopes thus frustrated, they took their find to Praxis, the owner of that place. Praxis had the books transliterated into the Attic alphabet and presented them to the Roman emperor Nero. The emperor rewarded him richly.

There has been some scholarly debate over the origin of the language that was being transliterated. The *epheMERIS* states that these tablets were sent to Nero, who summoned experts that eventually identified the language of the inscriptions as Phoenician, although the preface to the Latin account of this story indicates that the language was Greek and that the text had merely to be transliterated from the Phoenician to the Greek alphabet (Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, 337–338). Forsdyke suggests that what may have been discovered in Knossos was a group of Linear B tablets, a type of Greek script that pre-dated the one used by later Greeks and Romans (Forsdyke 1956, 154–155; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, 338). Whatever the case may be, what we can garner from this passage is that the tomb of Diktys, which, like the so-called tombs of other Homeric heroes such as those of Achilles and Patroclus at Troy, attracted the attention of visitors due to its mythological and literary connections.

Much of Crete's mythological past was incorporated into works of art displayed in houses, portable objects, and coins. In the case of the latter, individual Cretan cities promoted their identities by depicting mythological figures or legendary locations on the reverse of coins during the Roman period as was common in other parts of the Greek East. For example, coins of Gortyn often bear the image of Velchanos on the reverse, a tree god with a non-Greek name probably of Minoan origin, who was later associated with Zeus (Wroth 1885; Stefanakis 2002). Knossian coins depicted the labyrinth on the reverse while the Cretan Koinon minted coins depicting the local goddess Diktynna nursing the infant Zeus (Wroth 1884; Stefanakis 1997).

Older Cretan symbols also appear in funerary stelae, jewellery, and portable objects such as lamps. Bull leaping scenes, which were prevalent in Minoan art, are depicted on a few lamps dated to the 2nd century AD. An example from the cave sanctuary of Melidoni in central Crete shows a bull leaping scene not unlike the scene depicted on a Minoan gold ring of the 15th century BC (Sapouna 2004), but in the Roman example, the bull leaper's back faces the bull (Figs. 18 and 19). Might this be an indication that bull leaping rituals continued into the Roman period on the island or that at least the memory of such events was kept alive long after the time of their flourishing? Possibly, but they may have equally been part of Roman athletic tradition rather than a continuation of an older Cretan tradition.

The double-axe, or *labrys*, is the most well-known symbol in Minoan material culture. Its importance is best summed up by Nilsson, who stated that 'of all religious symbols and symbols that appear in the Minoan civilisation, the double-axe is the most conspicuous, the real sign of Minoan religion and as omnipresent as the cross



Fig. 18: Seal ring depicting a bull-leaping scene. Late Minoan. Archaeological Museum of Heraklion (Sakellarakis, 1992).

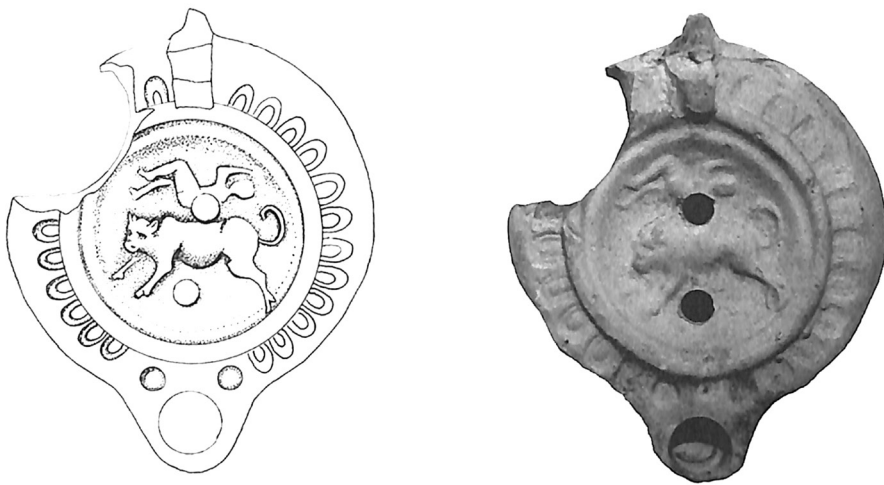


Fig. 19: Lamp depicting bull-leaping scene. 2nd century AD, from the Melidoni cave sanctuary (Sapouna, 2008).

in Christianity and the crescent in Islam' (Nilsson 1927, 194). Its representation in several different contexts, from larnakes and mason's marks to pottery and miniature votives found in caves, among many others, is a testament to the pervasive appearance of the symbol all over the island. The *labrys* continued to be depicted in various contexts throughout the Roman period. It is during this time, in fact, that it seems to have acquired a variety of meanings, potentially leading to diverse interpretations (Kouremenos 2016). I will only focus on a few of these depictions which will shed light on the symbol's importance and close association with the island in the Roman period.



Fig. 20: Room 1 in the House of Phidias, Kissamos (Markoulaki 2009, 363).

Two double-axes appear on a mosaic floor in the House of Phidias at Kissamos in north west Crete, which is dated to the 2nd to early 3rd century AD based on associated finds (Markoulaki 2009; Kouremenos 2016) (Fig. 20). Their inclusion in a mosaic which includes a *tabula ansata* that extends good luck to the owner of the house and depicts a central scene with a centaur attacking a panther raises a few questions: could the double-axes represent Phidias' desire to connect himself with the Cretan past? Certainly, the double-axes depicted in the reception room do not seem to fit in with the rest of the composition; they also do not appear to be closely associated with the subjects depicted in the other mosaics of the house. One might argue that their small size and positioning away from the entrance and the *tabula ansata* indicate that they might have served merely as decoration.¹⁵ What is important, however, is that this is the only depiction of a Cretan symbol found in a Roman house on the island and may be associated with antiquarianism on the part of the owner.

The double-axe also appears on at least two grave stelae (Kouremenos 2016) excavated in Tarrha, southwest Crete. The first commemorates Aitiros, son of Sosos (Guarducci 1935) and we see the double-axe held by a hand (Fig. 21). This juxtaposition raises a few questions: were the relatives who put up this grave stele aware of the



Fig. 21: Funerary stele depicting a hand holding a double-axe. From Tarrha, Crete. 1st-2nd century AD (Guarducci 1935, 307).



Fig. 22: Sketch of a sepulchral cippus sowing the double-axe. From Tarrha. Probably 2nd-3rd century (Guarducci 1935, 308).

double-axe's native Cretan origin and significance? During his lifetime, was Aitiros perhaps employed in an occupation where he regularly used the double-axe as a tool? The double-axe also appears underneath the name of the deceased in a sepulchral cippus from Tarrha (Fig. 22). Here, the deceased is Zopiros, son of Philolalos, and the double-axe carved beneath the inscription is free standing. Was Zopiros also associated with an occupation that used the double-axe as a tool, or should we look for an alternate meaning where it might be read as a protective symbol?

Is the presence of the double-axe in Roman Crete a sign of the continuity of an old Cretan symbol or was it a more generic symbol that was used on Crete as elsewhere within the empire? Judging by comparative material from other parts of the empire, I argue that while the Cretan origin of the double-axe may not have been entirely lost by the Roman period as myths set in Minoan Crete – especially that of Theseus, who was often depicted using a double-axe to slay the Minotaur in Greek and Roman art – are depicted on mosaics, lamps and other artifacts, the true meaning of the double-axe as a motif was far more multifaceted during the Roman period than it was during the Bronze Age, when it appears to have functioned mostly as a religious symbol (Briault 2007; Haysom 2010; Kouremenos 2016). In the post-Minoan period, the double-axe was an apotropaic symbol that was not necessarily associated with specific gods. Having

undergone centuries of transformation in its meaning and significance, the double-axe may be described as a truly multifaceted symbol in the Roman period, as can be seen from examples from Crete and elsewhere. Its presence in various contexts across the empire may have given it multiple meanings depending on the contexts in which it appeared, but the constant emulation of various apotropaic symbols, including the double-axe, in material culture in different parts of the empire was probably a result of the cultural phenomenon which I call emulative acculturation (Kouremenos 2013 and forthcoming). This implies the continuous imitation of specific traits among the upper classes which were gradually transmitted to the lower classes through emulation. Symbols tend to fall into such a category of imitated traits. The double-axe, which was a symbol used in the material culture of several peoples before the Roman period, was one of the most likely candidates to participate in this emulative acculturation, as it not only appears to have held multiple meanings both before and during the Roman period but was presumably also understood and replicated by a wide variety of the empire's population, both elite and non-elite. Thus, while one might argue that the double-axe was a multifaceted symbol long before the advent of Roman rule in Crete, it was only during the Roman period that we see it on a wider variety of artifacts and in a wider geographical space. That the inhabitants of the Roman empire understood the multiple meanings of the double-axe is a testament to the holistic nature of Roman rule.

Conclusion

This paper provided a general portrayal of Crete under Roman rule and defined how the island's geographic location, climate, economic activities and mythological/historical past contributed to the formation of Cretan identity *vis-à-vis* insularity. What defined Cretan insularity and identity during the Roman period?

First, the island's lucrative location on the east-west trade route which allowed for the production, consumption, and export of local products such as wine, olive oil, medicinal plants, purple dye, honey and wax. The wealth derived from these five groups of products allowed many Cretans of the Roman period to become elite land owners, a trait that was not possible in pre-Roman Crete, which was characterised by a communal social system that prohibited private ownership of land and ostentatious displays of wealth. Roman Crete was characterised by a new social order that was defined by the private ownership of land and the thriving of mercantile activities and trade rather than the archaic communal social order that had prevailed on the island for centuries.

The island's mythological past also contributed to the maintenance of Cretan identity; specifically, four themes dominated during the Roman period: Minos and his associates; the island as the birthplace of Zeus; as a place of healing, exemplified by the temple of Asclepius at Lebena; and as a land of heroes who served in the Trojan War (Diktys, Idomeneus and Miryones). Thus, Crete was seen by many outsiders

as a place with a mythic past and these legends were ‘sold’ as a type of cultural capital which allowed the island to become a tourist attraction in the Roman period. Furthermore, depictions of older motifs such as the double-axe, the labyrinth, and bull-leaping scenes were also forms of culture capital that broadcast Cretan history and mythology both to the islanders themselves and to outsiders. All indications seem to point to the fact that Crete was seen by outsiders as a wealthy island, and this is perhaps best denoted by the amount of tribute it paid to Rome annually and the fertility of its land and sea. Thus, current research suggests that Cretans living in the Roman period lived in a far different and more prosperous island than that of their ancestors. In the Roman period, even though Crete did not possess 100 cities as it did in Homer’s day, the inhabitants of the 20 or so cities that flourished on the island enjoyed a level of prosperity that was on par with other affluent areas of the empire. In the absence of ‘Cretan voices’ to inform us how the Cretans viewed themselves, the material remains and the few surviving accounts of non-Cretan writers paint a picture of an island of abundance and prosperity but also of a population that exploited both the land, the sea, and its mythological past for profit. Thus, Cretan insularity and identity was, simultaneously, both distinctive and part of an integrated Roman network; the island functioned both as a microcosm within the empire and as part of a connected network of islands and continental cities in the wine-dark sea that was the Mediterranean heart of the Roman Empire.

Notes

- 1 Cyrene was colonised by Therans, partly aided by Cretans from the city of Itanos. Crete and Cyrene were united into a single province in c. 27 BC.
- 2 Kissamos is probably one of the few exceptions. See Kouremenos 2013.
- 3 This social system was also shared by the city-state of Sparta, which it had originally borrowed from Crete. See Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, 5.6; for scholarship on the subject, see Erickson 2011; Spawforth 2012.
- 4 Erickson 2011 describes the *syssitia* and the social structure that supported them at length, drawing attention to the ambiguity of the ancient sources and the fact that *andreia* – the spaces where *syssitia* took place – are notoriously difficult to identify in the archaeological record.
- 5 The work of the Cretan historian Dosiadas survives in fragments, Jacoby *FGrH* 458. See Hansen 2005.
- 6 The passage from Ephorus is *FGrHist* 70 F149.16. See also Hansen 2005, 310–311.
- 7 The earliest historical evidence for the existence of the double province is found in Cassius Dio 53.12 and Strabo 17.3.25. Both authors mention *Creta et Cyrene* when discussing events which occurred around 27 BC.
- 8 The second double province was *Lycia et Pamphylia*.
- 9 This is discussed further in Chevrollier 2012 and 2016.
- 10 The dowry is mentioned in Antony’s supposed will which was seized by Augustus after the former’s death. See Plutarch, *Life of Antony*.
- 11 See Wilson 2011 for estimates of the populations of cities in Cyrene.
- 12 For modern commentary on the alliance decree, see Gabrielsen 1997, 53–56; de Souza 1999, 80–84.

- 13 Dressel 43 type amphorae are characterised by an ovoid body, a neck with a bulging profile and peaked handles. According to Marangou-Lerat 1995, 84–49, the chief production centers of this type in Crete were at Heraklion, Tsoutsouros, and Dermatos.
- 14 Cultural capital may be defined as having assets that give one social mobility. These assets are both tangible and intangible, as with skills and music taste; but importantly, they are not usually related to income, net worth, or any financial measure. Cultural capital falls into three categories: **institutionalised** (education or specialised knowledge), **embodied** (personality, speech, skills), and **objectified** (clothes or other belongings).
- 15 A few examples of double-axes from Antioch, e.g., in the House of Menander and the House of the Boat of Psyches, do indeed seem to have a purely decorative function. See Levi 1941.

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Chapter 4

Insularity and Identity in the Northern Sporades Islands: The Question of Roman Policy in Central Greece

Alkiviadis A. Ginalis

Introduction

The Northern Sporades, also called *Skopeloi* or *Magnesian islands*, are an archipelago situated in the Northwest Aegean Sea and belong to the province of Thessaly (Bees 1915, 248). They include the three inhabited islands of Skiathos, Skopelos (known in antiquity as Peparethos), and Alonnesos (known in antiquity as Ikos) as well as the so-called *Erimonisia* or *Demonisia* (Fiedler 1841, 1; Philippson 1901, 123; Philippson and Kirsten 1959, 40) (Fig. 23).¹

With a distance of just 2 nautical miles (4 km) from the southern coast of the Magnesian or Pelion peninsula and 7 nautical miles (13 km) from the northern coast of the island of Euboea, the archipelago lies off the northern entrance to the Pagasetic and Euboean gulf. Due to their geographical position, the Northern Sporades played a significant role in the Aegean sea-trade and maritime connectivity between the mainland of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor. Hence, due to increasing commercial activity and heightened maritime trade and the volume of sea traffic particularly since the beginning of the Classical period, the islands constituted a decisive junction of the N-S and E-W axis in the Aegean during Antiquity among the cities of Athens, Troy, Ephesus and later Thessaloniki as well as connecting Rome with the coasts of Asia Minor, the Black Sea and the wider Eastern Mediterranean (Ginalis 2011, 285). Accordingly, by virtue of coastal navigation, the Northern Sporades formed ports of call for merchants within the Aegean system of tramping and cabotage trade (Fig. 24), which is shown further by numerous wreck sites in the area (Ginalis 2008, 115–122; 2011, 291–292; 2014, 79, 252).

However, despite their wealth of resources and rich agricultural products such as wood, grain, wine, and olive oil, as noted already by Demosthenes in the 4th century BC,² the islands primarily functioned either as key stations to secure the passing

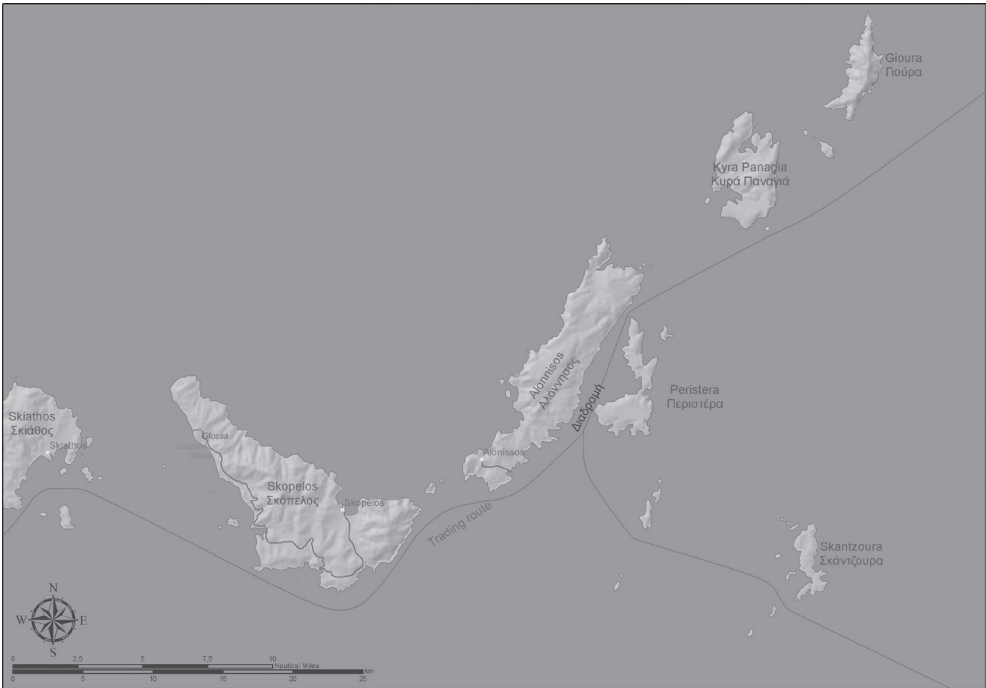


Fig. 23: Geographical map of the Northern Sporades (Graeco-Arabica 11 2011, fig. 1).

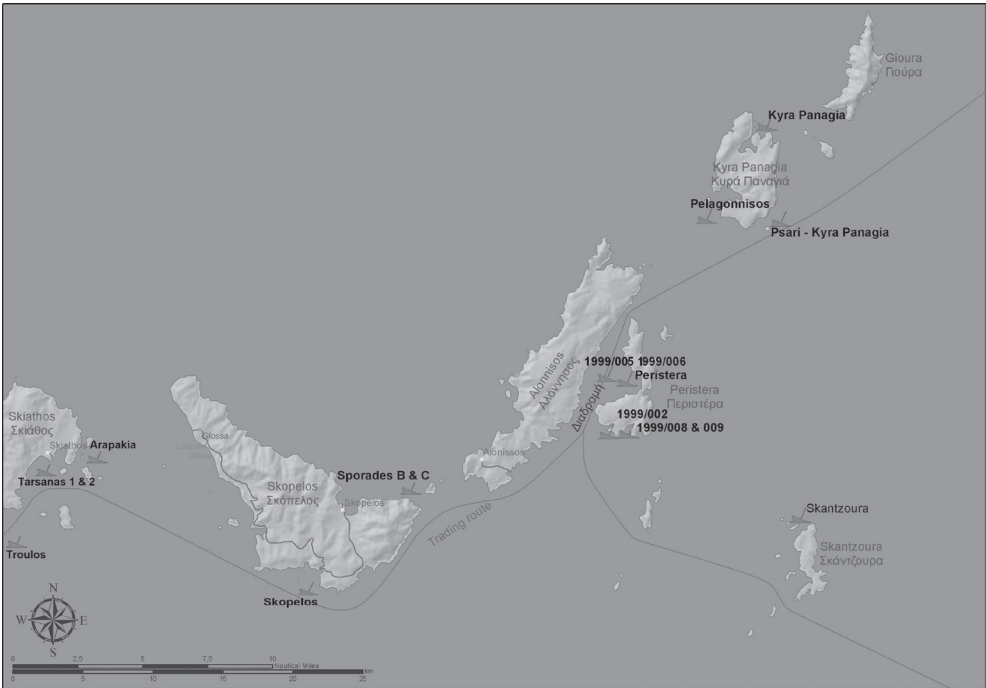


Fig. 24: Wreck sites and associated trading routes along the Northern Sporades (Graeco-Arabica 11 2011, fig. 4).

trading routes and shipping lanes to Asia Minor and the Black Sea or as important naval bases for the military control over central Greece during the Roman period. As the closest island to the mainland, Skiathos was almost exclusively used as a military post. In association with its strategic position and important harbour, the latter provided shelter and provisions for various fleets throughout antiquity, either temporarily anchoring or overwintering at Skiathos (Fredrich and Wace 1906, 106; Evangelides 1913, 29, 37, 43–44, 46–47, 57; Arvanitopoulos 1928, 96, 103; Philippson-Kirsten 1959, 44; Sampson 1968, 53–76; 1977, 15–19, 38); Koder and Hild 1976, 257–258; Fragkoulas 1978, 45, 47; Mavrikes 1997, 44–72; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2001, 113).³

From the Roman conquest to Late Antiquity

In contrast to the meagre information concerning the Northern Sporades islands during the Hellenistic period (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2001, 115), there is ample evidence to suggest that from around 200 BC onwards Skiathos and Skopelos played an important role in the Roman expansion to the East. Together with Euboea, the two islands formed key factors for control over the Aegean. Being closely related with the outcome of the second and third Macedonian wars of 200–196 BC and 172–168 BC, as well as the Roman-Syrian war of 192–188 BC and the first and second Mithridatic wars of 88–84 BC and 83–81 BC, the Northern Sporades had been standing in the centre of historic events for hundreds of years (Evangelides 1913, 28–31; Sampson 1968, 70–72; Ginalis 2014, 83).

According to written sources such as Livy,⁴ during these conflicts between the Roman Empire and the Macedonian kingdom, the Seleucid Empire and the kingdom of Pontus, the islands served as strategic outposts and important bases for fleets acting in the Aegean Sea and securing access and military actions in Thessaly. This led to the destruction of the Northern Sporades during the first Macedonian war by King Philipp in 199 BC, in order to render them useless as naval bases for the Roman navy.⁵ That same year the Roman fleet arrived at Skiathos intending to plunder it for agricultural goods but found the island already looted and destroyed by Philipp.⁶ During the Roman-Syrian war, Antiochus III of Syria conquered the islands but after his defeat in 191 BC, the entire archipelago came under Roman domination again. Furthermore, during the second Macedonian war, the islands of the Northern Sporades were again almost exclusively referred to in context with military activities, such as the overwintering of the Roman fleet under Marcus Figulus in 169 BC.⁷ After the defeat of the Macedonian kingdom, the Romans granted freedom to the islands and Skiathos, Skopelos and Alonnisos continued as independent democratic states (Sampson 1977, 19).

At the beginning of the first Mithridatic war the Northern Sporades were taken by Mithridates VI's admiral Mitrophanous and remained under Pontian rule until the Roman admiral Vrotius Souras reconquered them in 82 BC. The importance of the Northern Sporades for the struggle of naval supremacy also attracted piratical activities. According to Appian, this resulted in a period of frequent lootings and the near destruction of the islands.⁸ Alonnisos, in particular, suffered from piracy.

Only in 67 BC did Pompeius relieve the Northern Sporades and stabilise the Roman supremacy in the area by defeating unknown pirate fleets (Mavrikes 1997, 70). After the battle of Philippi in 42 BC, the Thessalian islands were handed over to Athens and an independent democratic regime was re-established by Antonius (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2013, 639), which lasted until the reign of Emperor Hadrian (AD 117–138). Although Emperor Septimius Severus (AD 193–211) replaced the Roman suzerainty and formally incorporated the Aegean into the Roman Empire, epigraphic documents mention the presence of oligarchs on Skiathos and Skopelos, which indicates the institutionalisation of democracy.⁹ As a result, the continuation of the islands' independent democracy led finally to a friendly attitude towards Emperor Septimius Severus and Roman hegemony (Sampson 1977, 19–20).¹⁰ Consequently, despite the great extent of destruction throughout the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, which according to Seneca even caused a temporary desertion of the islands,¹¹ Skiathos and Skopelos at least recovered quickly. This rapid social revival of the islands was associated with the beginning of a time of prosperity during the period of the *Pax Romana* (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2013, 639).

As a result of these events, dedicatory inscriptions to the emperors Nerva (AD 96–98), Trajan (AD 98–117), Hadrian (AD 117–138) and Septimius Severus (AD 193–211) suggest a rich social life on the islands from the 1st to the 3rd century AD (Fig. 25).¹²

This is additionally confirmed by the frequent references particularly of Skiathos and Skopelos in written sources of that time, such as Athenaeus of Naucratis, Claudius Ptolemaeus, Plinius Secundus, Pomponius Mela, and Strabo, demonstrating a period of social and economic growth (Mavrikes 1997, 73–74; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2001, 115–117).¹³ Only with the Imperial crisis during the 3rd century AD do such accounts terminate.

Despite the islands' wealth of resources, Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* is the only account referring to their rich agricultural products, particularly grain, during the Roman Republic. However, Livy's account is only linked with military activities rather than the agricultural exploitation of the islands.¹⁴ This confirms the exclusively strategic role of the Northern Sporades islands during the Roman Republican period as part of the historical events of the Roman expansion to the east. In contrast, from the 1st century AD onwards, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* refers to the production of olive oil on Skopelos and the early 3rd century AD *Deipnosophisticae* by Athenaeus of Naukratis mentions the remarkable *Skiathitian* black wine and attests to the importance of the Northern Sporades for the economy of the Roman Empire.¹⁵

As for the understanding of the political and economic history of the Northern Sporades in context and relation to the question of insularity, one has first to define their island identity. Based on the islands' physical and geographical conditions, as well as further principles such as the model of 'Hinterland' and 'Foreland' (Ginalis 2014, 9–12), Broodbank differentiates generally between *analytical islands* and *perceived islands* (Broodbank 2000, 16).¹⁶ According to the latter, the inhabitants of so-called 'analytical islands' seem not to consider themselves as islanders and therefore practice

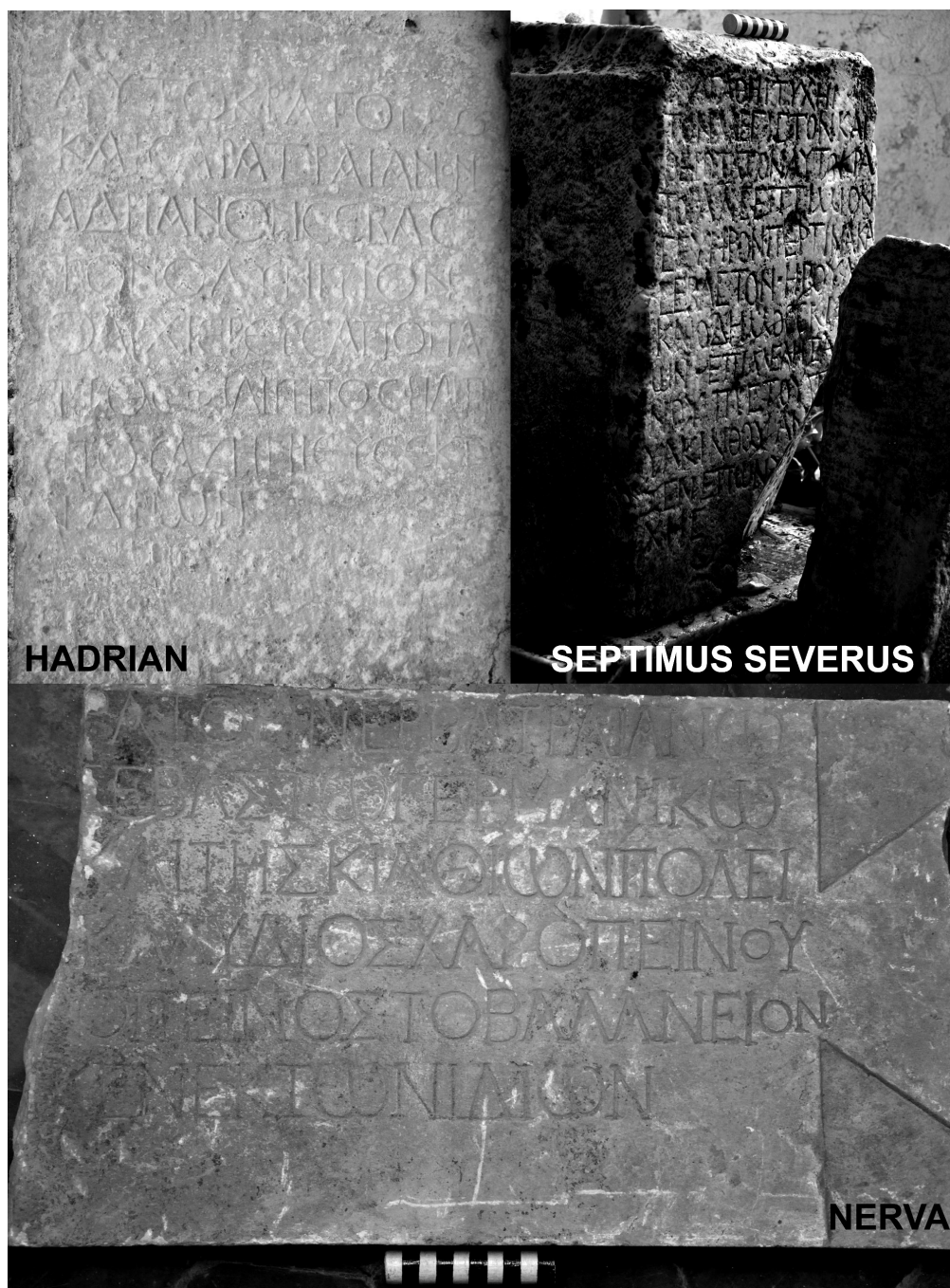


Fig. 25: Roman dedicatory inscriptions (Photo: author).

connectivity rather than insularity. In contrast, perceived islands readily face the problem of isolation, which results in the inhabitants experiencing and practicing the phenomenon of insularity. As such, the question of insularity and identity of island societies is closely connected with the notion of where the island ends and where the continent begins; more precisely the relationship between sea and land as well as certain insular spaces (Braudel 1991, 183–185, Malamut 1998, 27; Veikou 2015, 358–361). Additionally, Veikou and contemporary geographers such as Bonnemaïson pick up the concept of complementing the notion of insularity and Broodbank's differentiation of islands with that of the notion of 'Islandness' (Veikou 2015, 359–360). This leads to the understanding of insularity as isolation and islandness as separation from the rest of the world (Bonnemaïson 1991, 119; Bonnemaïson 1997, 122).

As a result of various historical events, the written sources consequently suggest a high degree of insularity for the Northern Sporades and consequently the preservation of an independent identity as social entities at least during the Roman Republic. This is supported by the fact that in around AD 40–45, Seneca the Younger refers to the Northern Sporades and in particular Skiathos as a place of exile during the Roman period, which together with Skyros served as such also during the Byzantine era, despite their strategic importance (Evangelides 1913, 31; Mavrikes 1997, 75–76; Koder 1998, 280; Ginalis 2014, 85).¹⁷ Only with the *Pax Romana* did their agricultural exploitation of the islands gradually become beyond the level of being self-sustaining and therefore come to bear for the wider Mediterranean economic networks which in turn affected both the social identity of the Northern Sporades as well as the degree, or rather understanding, of insularity. Based on the differentiation of insularity and islandness by Veikou and others, we have to suggest the broad concept of islandness for the Northern Sporades during the Roman Imperial period and Byzantine era. The level of islandness, of course, differs in time as well as between the various islands, depending on their territorial structure and the physical and geographical conditions as well as the principles of hinterland and foreland, defined as 'broad matrix of exchange' by Veikou (Veikou 2013, 378).

In contrast to the rich picture of social and economic developments in written sources and epigraphic testimonials, archaeological investigations on the archipelago produced only poor and inconclusive data for the Roman period until recently.¹⁸ The scattered material, mostly revealed on and around Skopelos and Skiathos (AD 42 (1987) 261–262; AD 50 (1995) 365–368; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2001, 101–109; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2013, 633; Parker 1992, 408) is limited mainly to stray finds. However, a joint coastal and underwater archaeological survey project on the island of Skiathos initiated by me in cooperation with the Greek Archaeological Services in 2011 has shed more light on the Roman cultural heritage of the Northern Sporades, providing for the first time a compact and coherent picture of social developments in the area during the Roman period. As such, since 2012, systematic archaeological research is bringing to light material from Roman period, such as amphorae, table ware, and architectural elements from houses and public buildings (Ginalis 2014, 111–114, 134,

148). Interestingly, the investigation of the harbour bay of Skiathos revealed a total gap of material remains for the Hellenistic and the period of the Roman Republic, as did previous archaeological investigations on Skiathos and Skopelos by the Greek Archaeological Services. Unsurprisingly, this gap of material from the 3rd to 1st century BC for the entire Northern Sporades correlates exactly with the time of the Roman expansion to the east and the ravages of the islands in the turmoil of the second and third Macedonian wars, the Roman-Syrian war and the first as well as second Mithridatic wars. In contrast, Roman ceramic material dated to the Roman Imperial period, such as Italian Sigillata Ware, Amphorae of type Dressel 1b, and Dolia from the 1st–2nd century AD, 2nd–3rd century AD Eastern Sigillata C or so-called Çandarlı Ware and 4th–5th century AD African Sigillata Ware have been recovered on Skiathos since 2012 (Fig. 26).

The rich ceramic assemblage, including both trading goods and high class cargo such as columns and other decorative elements, suggests that Skiathos was fully integrated into the Roman maritime network already by the 1st century AD. In fact, similarly to the Adriatic islands (Dzino in this volume), the rich remains of cargo and

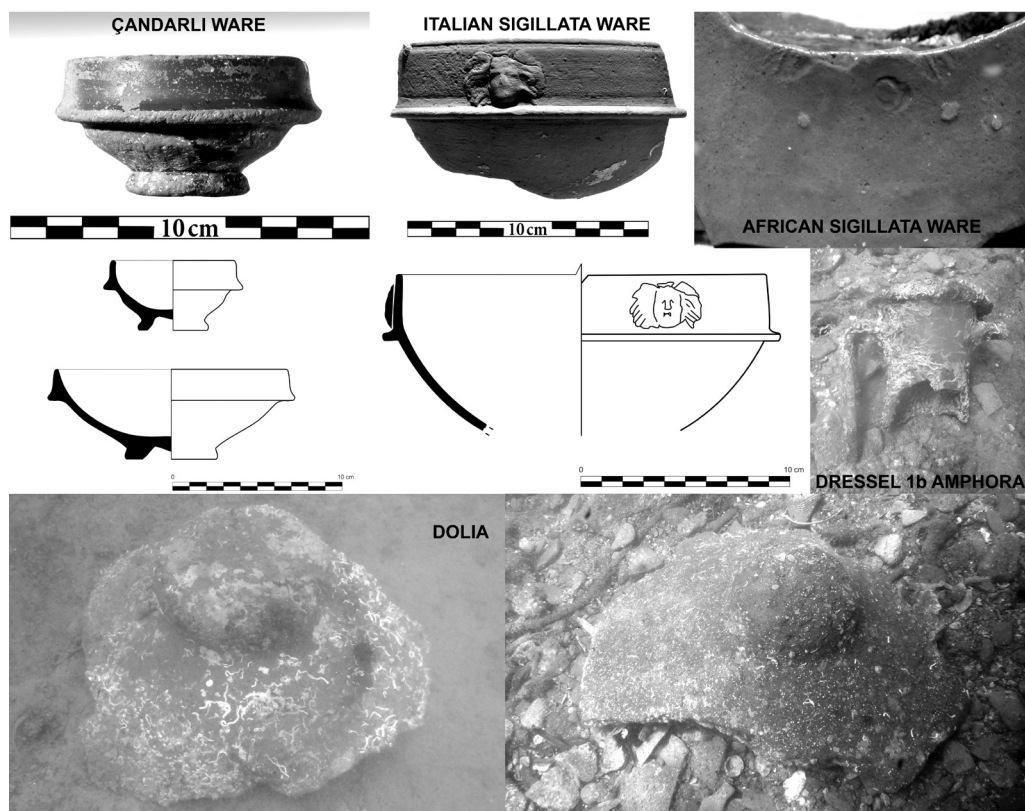


Fig. 26: Roman ceramic finds from Skiathos (Photo: author).

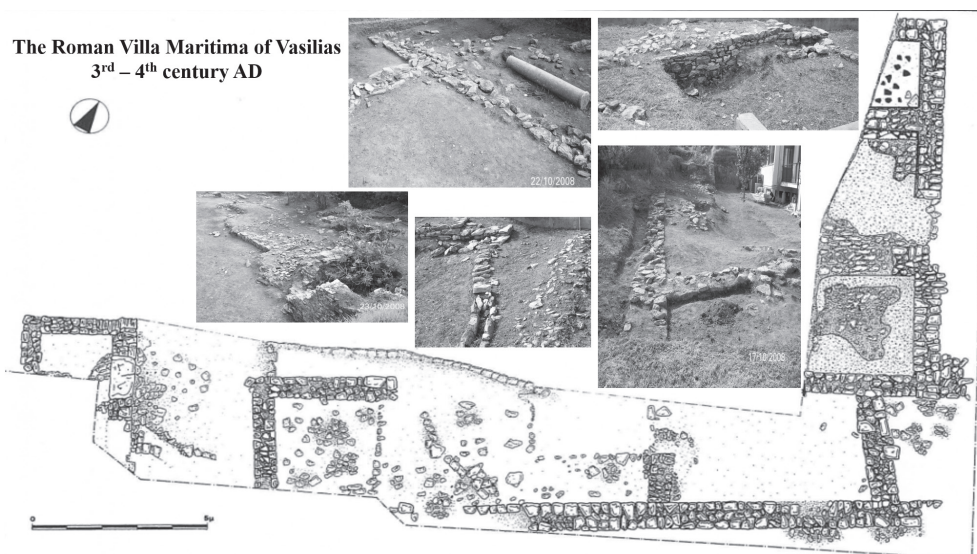


Fig. 27: The Roman villa site of Vasiliás on Skiathos (modified figure after AD 20 (1965), B'1, 336 / AD 52 (1997), 470-472, Πίνακας 182c / Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2013, 641 σχ. 1).



Fig. 28: Remains of a Roman bath at Loutraki (ancient Selinous) on Skopelos (Photo: author).

precious as well as high-quality objects show that not just Skiathos but the entire Northern Sporades islands were actually highly frequented by long distance trade activities due to their strategic position, connecting Italy with the Northern African coast and Asia Minor. This is further attested by a series of Roman Imperial coastal sites containing baths and villa estates along the coasts of the Northern Sporades. Besides the Roman bath of Selinous on Skopelos dated to the end of the 3rd century AD (Fig. 28), a series of considerable coastal villa estates, so-called *villae maritimae*, such as that of Lazareta or Vasiliias on Skiathos (Fig. 27) (AD 20 (1965) B'1, 336; AD 52 (1997), 470–472, Πίνακας 182c; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2013, 638–650; Ginalis 2014, 128–133; 142–144) and Potamoi on Skopelos (AD 40 (1985) B' 194; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2013, 633), show not only an economic recovery and prosperity but even a social revival, reaching its peak in the 3rd to 5th centuries AD.

Consequently, supporting the picture provided by the written sources, the phenomenon of insularity during the Roman Republican period stands against the picture of connectivity and globalisation drawn for the Roman Imperial period. Consequently, this can also be interpreted as a development of insularity during the Roman Republic to islandness during the Roman Imperial periods.

Conclusion

Both the literary evidence and the material remains for the region support a tendency toward insularity and closed social and economic identity of the Northern Sporades during the Roman Republican period in order for the islands to preserve self-sustainability. Similar to the island of Cyprus (Veikou 2013, 363–369; Gordon in this volume), Andros (Veikou 2013, 369–373) and Sicily (Veikou 2013, 373–376), only by the 1st century AD and in particular from the 2nd century AD onwards were the islands established as regional and supra-regional trading stations within the networks of the Roman *Mare Nostrum*. Specifically, the existence of numerous Roman Imperial coastal sites such as *villae maritimae* on Skiathos and Skopelos suggests that the adoption of the Roman social system ultimately abandoned the independent identity and insularity by the 3rd–5th century AD at the latest, establishing open systems with different levels of islandness. In that sense, Skiathos and Skopelos, with their intensive settlement and agricultural activities of more than eight agricultural and villa installations for Skiathos alone (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2013, 639), seem to have faced a much lower level of islandness than Alonnesos or Skyros. Overall, the diverse insular identity and consequently changing attitude and experience of the islanders towards foreigners can be read out both by the written accounts and the material culture of Roman policy in central Greece. The understanding of the diachronically changing notion of insularity to islandness provides important new insights into the study of the Aegean world. Finally, a closer look at the nature of insularity and identity will also help to push the debate on the concepts of 'Hinterland' and 'Foreland' as the matrix of exchange as part of Mediterranean and, in particular, Aegean network systems.

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Notes

- 1 Including the uninhabited islands of Peristera, Kyra Panagia (ancient Pelagonnisos and later Limen or Gymnopelagesion), the Adelfi islands, Gioura, Psathoura, Skantzoura and Piperi.
- 2 Demosthenes 1885, 4.32.91–92: ... ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λήμνῳ καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἅ χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει.
- 3 Demosthenes informs us about the stationing of the Athenian fleet and an army of 350 soldiers in around 360, 354/3 and 351 BC. In 334/3 and 325/4 BC the Athenian fleet stayed at Skiathos under Cephisodotus (Kephisophon). In 199 and 169 BC the Roman fleet under Marcus Figulus overwintered at Skiathos. In 192 BC the fleet of the Seleucid king Antiochus III stationed at Skiathos and in the 88 BC Mitrophanes, the admiral of king Mithridates VI, used the harbour of Skiathos as base for his fleet. This is further supported by later centuries: around AD 680 a Byzantine fleet under the *strategos* Sisinnios reached the island and in AD 758 the Byzantine Imperial fleet anchored at the harbour of Skiathos. The Byzantine admiral and later Megas Dux Licario passed by the island in AD 1276/7. In AD 1278 around 90 Genoese pirate ships are documented to have anchored at the harbour. In 1470 a Venetian fleet under admiral Nicolo La Canale was stationing at Skiathos. In Post-Byzantine time among others the stationing of the Ottoman fleet under Hayreddin Barbarossa in 1538, the Venetian fleet under admiral Francesco Morosini in AD 1660 and the Greek fleet in 1897 are documented.
- 4 Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, Lib.31.28.6: Sciathum et Peparethum, haud ignobiles urbes, ne classi hostium praedae ac praemio essent, diruit.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, Lib.31.45.12–16: **Sciathum traiecere, vastatam urbem direptamque nuper a Philippo.** per agros palati milites frumentum et si qua alia usui esse ad vescendum poterant ad naves rettulere; praedae nec erat quicquam, nec meruerant Graeci, cur diriperentur ... unde nenerant Sciathum et ab Sciatho Euboeam repetunt. ...
- 7 Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, Lib.44.13.11: Marcus Figulus praetor parte classis in hiberna Sciathum missa cum reliquis navibus Oreum Euboeae petit. ...
- 8 Appianus, *Mithridatica*, 114: ... ἐφορώντος τοῦ Μητροφάνους. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγεὶς ἔφευγε, καὶ αὐτόν, αἰσὶν ἄνέμῳ χρώμενον, ὁ Βρύττιος οὐ καταλαβὼν Σκιάθον ἐξεῖλεν, ἢ τῆς λείας τοῖς βαρβάροις ταμιεῖον ἦν, καὶ δούλους τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐκρέμασε καὶ ἐλευθέρων. ...
- 9 IG XII.8.634–635: ... ΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ Λ. ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝ ΣΕΒΗΡΟΝ ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΚΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΝ Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΣΚΙΑΘΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗCΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΠΙCΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΟΥ ΑΝΘ ΗC ΗΡΞΕΝ ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΑΡΧΗC. ...
- 10 However, the democratic titles granted by the emperor, which are mentioned at the epigraphic testimonials, had already lost their actual meaning, becoming more of an honorary value: IG XII.8.631–639.
- 11 Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Consolatione ad Helvium*, VI.4: Deserta loca et asperrimus insulas Sciathum. ...
- 12 IG XII.8.631–639.
- 13 Athenaeus of Naucratis 1887, 56; Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, III.12.44; IV.5.35; Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*, IV.27; Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia*, II.7.8–10 (106); Strabo, *Geographica*, IX.5.16.

- 14 Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, Lib.31.45.12–16: ... per agros palati milites frumentum et si qua alia usui esse ad uescendum poterant ad naves rettulere ... iam enim et graves praeda naves habebant – retro unde venerant Sciathum et ab Sciatho Euboeam repetunt.
- 15 Ovidius Naso Publius 1992, VII.469–471: At non Oliaros Didymaeque et Tenos et Andros et Gyaros nitidaeque ferax Peparethos olivae Gnosiacas iuvare rates. ... ; Athenaeus 1887, 71 (I.56.16): ... Στράτις δὲ τὸν Σκιάθιον ἐπαινεῖ οἶνος κοχύζει τοῖς ὁδοιπόροις πιεῖν μέλας Σκιάθιος, ἵσον ἴσῳ κεκραμένος.; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Garlan 1990, 363.
- 16 For the interpretation of physical and geographical conditions as well as that of the model of 'Hinterland' and 'Foreland' see: Karmon, Y. (1985) Geographical Components in the Study of Ancient Mediterranean Ports. In A. Raban (ed.) *Harbour Archaeology. Proceedings of the first international Workshop on ancient Mediterranean harbours Caesarea Maritima*, 1–6. British Archaeological Reports International Series 257. Oxford.
- 17 Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Consolatione ad Helvium*, VI.4: ... Transi ab iis, quarum amoena positio et opportunitas regionis plures adlicit; **deserta loca et asperrimas insulas, Sciathum et Seriphum, Gyarum et Cossuran, percense; nullum invenies exilium, in quo non aliquis animi causa moretur**; for the Byzantine period see: Failler, A. and Laurent, V. (1984) *Georges Pachymeres Relations Historiques. Einführung, Edition, Übersetzung und Indices*, II.3.31–501, 499. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 24. Paris.
- 18 Roman archaeology is in its infancy, which is still general phenomenon for entire central Greece.

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Chapter 5

Where East Meets West: Island Societies of the Ionian Sea Under Roman Rule

Sophia Zoumbaki

‘An island is deemed to be small when each individual living there is aware of living within a territory circumscribed by the sea. An island is deemed to be “big” when the society in general is aware of its insularity, while individuals may be unaware or forget that they live on an island’

Péron 1993, 3 (trans. Taglioni 2011, 46)



Fig. 29: Map of the Mediterranean showing the Ionian islands (Vyron Antoniadis).

The inhabitants of the islands of the Ionian Sea had many reasons to disregard their 'insularity', not only because the distance from the mainland is rather short, but also because the islands were from fairly early on used as stepping stones on the route across the Ionian and Adriatic Seas due to their location on the strategic axis dividing East from West. This East-West frontier created by the complexity of geography and history has been stressed by Braudel: *'La complicité de la géographie et de l'histoire a créé une frontière médiane de rivages et d'îles qui, du nord au sud, coupe la mer en deux univers hostiles. Tracez cette frontière de Corfou et du canal d'Otrante qui ferme à moitié l'Adriatique jusqu'à la Sicile et aux côtes de l'actuelle Tunisie: à l'est, vous êtes dans l'Orient; à l'ouest, en Occident, au sens plein et classique de ces mots'* (Braudel 1985, 16). Precisely on this notional frontier, the islands of the Ionian Sea were from the Geometric period used as bases by important ruling powers for both military and economic reasons. Colonies and staging-posts were founded by Euboea and Corinth as early as the Geometric period on the islands and the coast of the Greek mainland,¹ whilst Caesarian and Augustan colonies were founded centuries later along the same geographical axis on the coast of the Western Balkans (Rizakis 1996). Attempts to gain control of these crossroads by Corinth and Athens during the Peloponnesian War, by Macedonia and Rome during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as well as Turkish, Venetian, French, Russian and British occupations, indicate the degree of interest on the part of various great powers in this strategic location.

Crossing the boundary of the Adriatic was always an appealing idea. This is revealed by mythological tradition (Cabanes 2001) and the movement of Greeks westwards as early as the Mycenaean period that reached its peak during the age of colonisation in the 8th century BC and remained henceforth uninterrupted (Greco 1992; Ridgway 2004; Abulafia 2011, 89–99). Since sailing directly across the Adriatic was not to be recommended, because navigation was often hampered by weather and the 'countless terrors on the sea' (Apul., *Met.* 7.6), the safest route was between the islands of the Ionian Sea and the coast of the Greek mainland up to the straits of Otranto, where the two opposite shores have the smallest distance between them (Wirbelauer 1999; Deniaux 2005, esp. 10–11).

The islands thus formed a gateway for voyagers, raw materials, products, techniques and ideas moving between East and West. This longstanding interchange between Italy and Western Greece is evident in various fields of material culture from the Geometric period onwards and formed the cultural *koine* of the Adriatic basin (Antonetti 2010). Their location at the gateway between two worlds, their constant interaction with the West and their insularity most certainly influenced the Ionian islanders' lives and identities.

Theoretical studies have stressed various aspects of the notion of insularity and the relevant rich bibliography offers a useful basis for further examination of specific cases (e.g., George and Schofield 1997; Boomert and Bright 2007; Knapp 2007; Rainbird 2007; Pungetti 2012; Knapp 2013, 477–484; all with abundant earlier bibliography). My aim is not to offer another theoretical study, but to conceptualise the role of insularity in the formation of the identity/ies of the people of the Ionian islands

under the influence of the increasing Roman/Italian presence in the area from the 3rd century BC onwards.

Insularity was experienced in a variety of ways on various islands: small and large islands, islands in the vicinity of a mainland or of other islands and remote islands in the middle of the ocean, barren and fertile, rocky and verdurous, inhospitable and inviting islands. While size, location and natural features remain unchangeable, the scale of the detachment of an island can change over time due to various reasons – political, economic or even technical, as it often depends on technological progress, namely human achievements that aim at easy access such as progress in construction of ships or bridges. Thus, defining insularity presupposes in each case the interrelation of two parameters, place and time. A further dipole – inevitably related to a given place and time – underlies every study on insularity, namely isolation and connectivity.

The unit of the Ionian islands displays marked variety, since it ranges from big islands to small islets, with particular physical features and natural resources; furthermore, while all are located close to the western Greek mainland, Leukas was in certain periods an island detached from the continent and in other periods connected with it as a peninsula, depending on the function of the *dioryktos*, the channel dividing it from the shore of the Greek mainland. Historical reasons related to politics and trade dictated the function of the *dioryktos*. These factors influenced in a high degree the experience of insularity for each island (Fig. 30).

Geomorphology determined largely how the Ionian islands were connected with the external world. The islands are eastwards oriented, since, as aforementioned, the depth of the Mediterranean waters and the unfavourable sea currents impede a direct navigation to Italy for the greatest part of the year. Their western coastlines are steep, rocky, lack physical coves and harbours. It is not a coincidence that settlements have been hardly hosted at their western coasts both in antiquity and nowadays. Access to the Greek mainland was therefore easier



Fig. 30: Map of the Ionian islands with major sites (Vyron Antoniadis).

than crossing the Adriatic. Connectivity with the Greek mainland was consequently stronger than contacts among the islands themselves, as will be discussed below. Connectivity of the Ionian islands with the West existed despite adverse conditions but not in a common pattern where all islands participated at the same time in the same way. Connectivity with Italy which is the focus of this study, became generally more intense from the 3rd c. BC onwards, but it still differed from island to island in respect to the date of the first presence of western individuals as well as to the scale of the impact of this presence. Therefore, connectivity both with East and West was neither a static nor an identical process for all islands.

The aim of this paper is to trace the formation of insular identity/ies after the Romans crossed the Adriatic and within a unified Mediterranean of the Roman *oikoumene*. It employs literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological evidence to explore how Roman political control and the physical presence of western individuals influenced insular life and identity.

A geographical whole of fragmentary microcosms: Inter-insular connectivity, contact with the continent and the absence of a united identity

The islands of the Ionian Sea – Corcyra, Leukas, Kephallenia, Ithaca, Zakynthos and various islets, such as Paxoi, Antipaxoi, Echinades, Strofades – resemble beads on a chain lying scattered off the Greek mainland, as Homer says νῆσοι πολλὰὶ ναιετάουσι μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλησι (*Od.* 9.22–23, ‘many islands existing very near to each other’). A description of the islands from south to north is also to be found in *The Aeneid* beginning from Strofades (3.210–211), continuing with Zakynthos, Dulichium, Kephallenia, Ithaca, Leukas (3.270–277) and Corcyra (3.291–293). Although the Ionian islands constitute a geographical whole and form a sequence of stations on the sea-route that connects the north and south and the east and west of the Mediterranean, and despite their close distance to each other, they never formed a unity and never shared a common political identity. Nor did they have an identical or chronologically parallel relation with the West. Even the four *poleis* on Kephallenia (Same, Pale, Pronnoi, Krane) did not always enjoy a stable relationship with each other, let alone any political unity (Soteriou 2013). That Ithaca was dependent on Kephallenia, as Kern suggests on the grounds of the decree of the *polis* of Same concerning the festival of Artemis Leukophrenea in Magnesia on Maeander, which was also voted for by Pale, Krane and Pronnoi, is doubtful.² Few traces can be found in written sources of the mobility and connectivity that presumably existed among the islands. If one leaves aside mythological contacts such as those between Zakynthos and Ithaca, which is perhaps implied by Homer’s mention of twenty Zakynthians among the suitors of Penelope (*Od.* 16.250 ff.), there are only a few mentions in literary sources that record solidarity or a common fate amongst the islands in time of war,³ and a handful of funerary inscriptions of individuals originating from some Ionian island who died on some neighbouring island dating

from the 3rd to the 2nd/1st c. BC.⁴ Archaeological finds reveal further contacts and exchanges amongst neighbouring island communities (cf. Fraser and Rönne 1957, 190; Strauch 1997, 218, 241; Reginos, Georgiadou and Adamopoulou 2009, 188). However, such contacts and mobility never created a political unity or a strong common identity.

It is remarkable that the islands were more closely connected to the shore of the Greek mainland, which lies directly opposite, and with various regions around the Corinthian Gulf (beyond the dominant power of Corinth). The definition 'Epirus' ('continent') itself, systematically attested from the 4th c. BC, assumes significance only in relation to the islands offshore. Some of the islands are attested to have had a *peraia*, a dependency across the sea, on the opposite mainland. For Kephallenia and Ithaca this is traceable only in epic poetry, whilst Corcyra and Leukas are attested to have had a *peraia* on the Epirotic shore (Carusi 2011).

The lifestyle of certain continental populations of the Western coast of the Balkans, however, displayed a stronger 'insularity' and lack of connectedness for a long period, as these regions were mountainous, under-urbanised and what communities existed were isolated and introverted. The first significant step towards reaching out to these populations was when Alexander I of Epirus crossed to Italy at the request of the Tarantines for aid against Italic tribes in 334 BC. Around the turn of the 3rd century BC, the Illyrians, Aitolians, and Epirotes entered the Ionian Sea in dynamic fashion and made contact with the islands. The Illyrians and Aitolians, who were accustomed to making a living as land-based raiders, now became pirates and occasionally acted in concert with island naval forces, such as those of the Kephallenians who were already involved in small-scale piracy, which could be seen as a different aspect of connectivity offered by the sea.

A political relationship between the islands and the continent became evident in their relations, involving coercion, alliances, and ties of friendship (Bakhuizen 1987; Thiry 2002; Liampi 2009). These varied from island to island and followed the shifts in power in the region during this turbulent period. Leukas was a member and indeed the capital of the Akarnanian Koinon and several Leukadians are thus attested as federal magistrates, until its separation from the league by the Romans in 167 BC. Kephallenia becomes an ally of the Aitolian Koinon in the mid-220's BC, since the island's naval power was extremely useful to the league. A fragmentary inscription from Thermos may imply the existence of an Aitolian settlement, a 'colony', in Same (IG IX 1² 1, 2) in the late 3rd century BC and a coin from Krane bears the legend ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ along with the monogram of Krane (Postolakas 1868, no. 924). Citizens of Pale (IG IX 1² 1, 31, ll.80–81, 95–96) and Pronnoi (IG IX 1² 1, 8) were granted proxeny by the Aitolians, as inscriptions from Thermos attest. Zakynthos, which, Thucydides (2.66) says, was inhabited by the Achaeans, belonged, along with Kephallenia, to the Aitolian zone of influence as epigraphic evidence indicates (IG IX 1² 1, 25, l.67, 238/7 BC). The Kephallenian and Zakynthian presence at Delphi during this period is to be understood in the context of Aitolian control over the sanctuary.⁵

Apart from political alliances and groupings, connections of individual islanders with areas in the western part of the Greek mainland were infrequent before the early 3rd century BC. There are, for example, a few early mentions of the physical presence or of the proxy of private individuals. Contacts between the islanders and sanctuaries on the Greek mainland are notable, however, especially in the case of Dodona, where communities and individuals made dedications or requests to oracles,⁶ and in the case of the panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia, Epidauros, and Delphi.⁷ Several islanders are attested as victors at Olympia.⁸ Paleans dedicated the statue of the Elean Timoptolis, son of Lampis at Olympia (Paus. 6.15.7), which shows that their relations with local individuals went beyond merely a sense of piety towards the sanctuary. The presence of coins from Elis dating to the 4th/3rd century BC in a coin-hoard from Zakynthos, perhaps belonging to a trader (IGCH 245), indicates that there were contacts between Zakynthos and the Western Peloponnese. A few funerary inscriptions of Zakynthians have been found on the opposite shore: at Anaktorion in Akarnania, those of [Με]γἀλλῆς [Ζ]ακύνθιος (IG IX 1² 2, 229; IX 1² 4, 1740) and [Χ]αίριππα [Ο]ϊνίχου [Ζ]ακυνθία (IG IX 1² 2, 231; IX 1² 4, 1741), at Michalitsi in Epirus that of two Zakynthian women of the Classical period, Hesychia and Alcinoa (SEG 40, 507; IG IX 1² 4, 1739).

Leukas offers the most striking example of a connection with the mainland, since it was linked to it in the form of a peninsula during the Palaeolithic period (Douzougli 1999), whilst in *The Odyssey* (24.378) it is termed ἀκτὴν ἡπειροῖο ('the shore of the mainland') and Strabo (10.2.8) calls it χερρόνησος ('peninsula'). A narrow channel, the *dioryktos*, on the strip of land connecting Leukas and the Acarnanian coast, which was very probably dug by Corinthian colonists (Strabo 7.7.6; 10.2.8), facilitated navigation when it operated. The island's orientation towards the opposite mainland is further stressed by the attestation of the presence of individuals from *poleis* of Western Greece in inscriptions of Leukas. Ambraciotes are attested on funerary inscriptions in the north cemetery of Leukas (Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2014, 52) and a man from Stratos also died on Leukas in the 2nd century BC (IG IX 1² 4, 1259). A dedication to Heracles is the work of the sculptor Timodamos, son of Timodamos, from Ambracia (IG IX 1² 4, 1239, 3rd c. BC).

The activity of the Messenian sculptor Damophon created links between Leukas and Kephallenia on the one hand and Messene on the other. A fragmentary decree of Messene of the early 2nd century BC (?) honouring Kephallenian envoys is apparently connected with Damophon's work on the island (SEG 41, 323, l.15–21; IG IX 1² 4, Fasti Cephal. (36) on p. 233). The Kranians and the Leukadians voted honours for Damophon,⁹ as we know from a long inscription of the 2nd century BC from Messene, which includes honorific decrees also voted by Oiantheia, Lykosoura, Gerenia, Melos, and Cythnos (Themelis 2003).

The Epirotic coast had always attracted the interest of the Corcyreans, as their foundation of Epidamnus and Apollonia (the latter along with Corinthians) shows. As early as the Archaic period, Corcyra held fortified bases on the opposite shore, which formed the Corcyrean *peraia*, πέραν οἰκεία γῆ (Thuc. 3.85.2), to which by the

4th century BC perhaps the Hexamilion-peninsula belonged, including Bouthrotos (Strauch 1997, 227). It is remarkable that the presence of Menekrates from Oiantheia in the Corinthian Gulf is attested on Corcyra so early. He is called πρόξενος δάμου φίλος in his funerary epigram on a circular grave monument dated to 625–600 BC (IG IX 1, 867 [CEG 143; SEG 44, 441]; IG IX 1² 4, 882; cf. Preka-Alexandri 2010, fig. 130–131, 200; Metallinou 2010, 15–16). Epigraphic documents and numismatic finds reveal lasting interaction between Corcyra and the opposite coast,¹⁰ especially with Bouthrotos, Apollonia, Oricos, Phoinike, and the oracle of Dodona. Ceramic finds from closed burial assemblages on Corcyra show imports from Leukas and the Epirotic coast (Reginos, Georgiadou, Adamopoulou 2009, 188).

Features of the so-called NW-group culture, which include dialect, various cults, such as that of Artemis Laphria, and the practice of inscribing names of eponymous archons, mainly *prytaneis*, on tile-stamps known from Corcyra, Leukas, Ithaca and Epirus (Strauch 1997, 219, 228) provide further evidence of the islands' connections with the mainland.

Gravestones and burial customs show similarities both amongst the islands and between the islands and continental regions in particular. Tombstones from Kephallenia and Ithaca are similar in type to those from Acarnania, Aitolia, and Ambracia in Epirus, which display sunken cartouches with inscriptions with letters in relief, whilst only two examples of this type are known from Leukas (Fraser and Rönne 1957, 190; Strauch 1997, 218, 241). The evolution of burial customs on Leukas allows us to trace various cultural influences, whilst in the Hellenistic period grave *periboloi*, apparently grave circles for powerful families, and uninscribed stone urns are to be found together with simple tile-covered graves, as is the case in NW Greece (Kalligas 1978–80, 78; Strauch 1997, 241). Corcyrean grave-columns of the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods are also found in Apollonia and Dyrrachion in Illyria (Strauch 1997, 229).

Connectivity with the Greek mainland was apparently stronger than contacts among the islands themselves, as it was analysed above on the basis of archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources. Contacts among islands do not seem to go beyond mobility among neighbouring but separate communities which do not share a common policy but only a loose military solidarity and a cultural commonalty due to their vicinity. A stronger connectivity is to be observed with the shore of the Greek mainland lying opposite to each island, not only with places functioning as *peraiiai*, but also with inland regions. However, the mainland did not face islands lying offshore as a united zone and never created a centre-periphery relation in this sense. The western part of the Greek mainland itself was not a united world either. Moreover, certain of its populations were characterised by a strong isolation and introversion, a kind of 'mountain insularity'. Continental *poleis*, *ethne* and *koina* maintained separate relations to each individual island. A quasi-central role was played only by the sanctuary of Dodona which was a reference point for – at least – the largest of the Ionian islands. Connections between individual islands and individual continental communities, however, lacked stability and changed over time according to political constellations.

Rome's presence on the islands

Romans became acquainted with Greek artefacts, language, and culture through their dealings with the Greeks of Magna Graecia. Officially, Roman power is attested as having crossed the Adriatic during the last decades of the 3rd century BC. Although they may have a historical core, literary sources that report sporadic contacts of Romans with the East during the age of Alexander the Great (Cleitararchus, *FrGH* 137 F 31 *apud* Plin., *Historia Naturalis* 3.57; Str. 5.319), interventions in the 260s in Apollonia after an embassy to Rome (Val. Max. 6.6.5; *cf.* Dio Cass., frg. 42 [I 141 Boissevain]; Livy, *Per.* 15; Zonar. 8.7.3) and in Acarnania after the appeal for help against the Epirotes (Pompeius Trogus, *Historiae Philippicae apud* Just. 28.1–2), should be separated from later interventions (Walbank 1963; Corsten 1992; Gruen 2004, 247; Čašule 2012, 207). The first testified official movement of Romans eastwards is therefore their military campaign in 228/227 BC against the Illyrians who were attacking Italian ships, robbing and killing their crew (Polyb. 2.8.1; *cf.* Šašel-Kos 2010, esp. 623–626). Illyrians in 229 BC besieged Epidamnus and Apollonia and captured Corcyra. The Illyrian Queen Teuta put Demetrios of Pharos in charge of Corcyra, who finally handed the island over to the Romans (Eckstein 2008, 29–76). Polybius mentions that the Corcyreans entrusted themselves to Roman πίστις ('protection', transl. W.R. Paton, Loeb edition 1967) in order to protect themselves from Illyrian incursions and that they were accepted by the Romans as their 'friends' (Polyb. 2.11.5–6: ... Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς Κερκυραίους εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ...). Corcyra, located near the straits of Otranto, was of strategic importance for the control of the area, the starting point and final stop both on seaborne journeys from Italy to the Illyrian and West-Epirotic coast and overland further in the Balkans. Later Corcyra was used by the Romans as a military base and as a station for Roman magistrates traveling to the East, both army officers in the Late Republican period and representatives of the Roman provincial administration in the Imperial period (Deniaux 2011).

The impetus for the shift of Roman interest towards the East was thus the elimination of the danger presented by Illyrian pirates, who threatened Italian seamen and traders. Even if this was merely a pretext (*cf.* Eckstein 2008, 32 with bibliography) for their intervention in Illyria and then indirectly in Macedonia, it shows that Italians were already regularly engaged in maritime trade with the East. The networks of trade and interaction between the Italian peninsula and the opposite shore of the Adriatic were well established before the Roman military expansion. Westerners, both of non-Hellenic origin as well as individuals of Hellenic origin from Magna Graecia, are sporadically attested in the East before the Roman military campaign against the Illyrians,¹¹ but they are also found further north in the Adriatic (Shpuza 2009; Čašule 2012) as well as further in the East (*e.g.*, *Lindos* II, 92, c. 250 BC). Rome's entry onto the scene in the Mediterranean effectively wiped out Illyrian piracy, defeated Aitolian piracy after the war of 192–189 BC, and thus enabled Italian and Greek vessels to sail safely in the eastern Mediterranean. As is natural in geographical terms, the first wave of this movement of individuals from Italy eastwards is to be observed in

the western part of Greece, both in the western regions of the Greek mainland and in the islands of the Ionian Sea.

Relations with Rome and the presence of Roman individuals differed from one Ionian island to the other. Romans imposed their rule directly or indirectly on the islands at different times and on different occasions. As we have mentioned, Corcyra belonged to the circle of the 'friends' of Rome. Other islands, on the other hand, experienced the force of Roman arms. Livy (33.17.11) gives a vital account of the Roman siege of Leukas in 197 BC, at the end of the Second Macedonian War, shortly before the decisive battle at Kynoskephalai: the Acarnanian League remained loyal to Philip V (Livy 33.16.1) and Leukas, being the capital of the Acarnanian League, was besieged and defeated by Flamininus. The impact of the siege can be seen in the results of the excavation of a public building located outside the fortification wall of the town. This was connected in some way with storage and commercial activities and collapsed during the siege, as stone bullets prove (Douzougli 1993, 290–293; cf. Pliakou 2001, 151). A fragment of a travertine block from Praeneste bearing a dedication of an object taken from Leukas by L. Quinctius L. f. – apparently Flamininus's brother who was under the command of Flamininus on Leukas – shows that the town was plundered by the Roman army (*CIL* XIV 2935; cf. Demma 2010–2011). Leukas recovered after the siege, but in 168/7 BC it was detached from the league by the Romans, who in its place nominated as capital the pro-Roman Acarnanian town Thyrraeon (Polyb. 5.5; Livy 33.17.1; 45.31.12; cf. Schmidt and Schweighart 1996, 133–137). Kephallenia, as an ally of the Aitolian League, found itself in a difficult situation during the War against Antiochos. It was plundered by C. Livius Salinator in 191 BC, exempted from the peace treaty between Aitolians and Romans (Polyb. 21.30; cf. Souris 1976; Scholten 2000, 107, 194–196, 209, 223) and in 189 BC it surrendered to M. Fulvius Nobilior. Only its *polis* Same resisted and was besieged, defeated, and plundered, while its population was enslaved (Livy 39.5.13–17). A Roman garrison was placed (Livy 38.30.1) on Kephallenia and the island functioned as a Roman base during the Third Macedonian War (171–167 BC). Zakynthos was formally independent until its capture by Philip V (217 BC), but in fact lay in the Aitolian zone of influence together with Kephallenia, as Livy notes (36.42.5: *Samen Zacynthusque, quia partis Aetolorum maluerant esse ...*). Philip handed Zakynthos over to the Athamanean leader Amyntandros, who appointed as governor Philip from Megalopolis and later Heracles from Agrigentum. In 211 BC, M. Valerius Laevinus landed on the island but did not manage to occupy it (Livy 36.24.15). In 191 BC, the Achaean League surrendered Zakynthos, which it had purchased earlier, to C. Livius Salinator (Thiry 2002, 236).

All events presented above indicate that the largest islands of the Ionian Sea had gradually come under Roman control by 167 BC, long before their administrative integration into the Roman provincial system. The status of each island upon annexation varied. Corcyra was formally a free state with autonomous coinage. The status of Leukas was ambiguous from its capture in 197 BC down to its detachment from the Acarnanian League (167 BC), but it continued to mint its own coins. Kephallenia and Zakynthos

were completely subordinated to Roman rule and had no autonomous coinage (Thiry 2002, 237–238). Obviously Romans did not regard the Ionian islands as a unity.

Longstanding interaction with the West and the impact of the Roman presence

The location of the Ionian islands, at the crossroads between two worlds, determined their fate, relations, economy, exchanges on a material and immaterial level and, to a great degree, the identity of the microcosm of each individual island. Furthermore, from an early stage onwards they formed links and stations on a widely-spread trade network within the Mediterranean. A typical example of this is the diffusion of metallic votives from the western Mediterranean in Greek sanctuaries, above all at Perachora in the Corinthian Gulf, in which the Ionian islands, especially Corcyra, participated as stations on this route in the 7th and 6th centuries BC (Verger 2011, esp. 47–52). Contacts with various places within the Mediterranean existed thereafter and are reflected in written sources and more abundantly in material culture, whilst from the 4th century BC individuals of Greek origin from Magna Graecia and Romans appear in inscriptions from the islands.

Corcyra

Corcyra's character was formed very early on by its orientation both to the West and eastwards to the coast of Epirus. Its economic power is obvious in literary, numismatic, and archaeological evidence.¹² Its two harbours and the shipsheds at the Hyllaic port, whose first phase is to be dated to as early as the late 7th century BC (Reginos *et al.* 2001, 131–132), served its overseas trade, a great deal of which was conducted in the West. The range of its contacts is obvious in the finds from Archaic graves of the town that contain funerary offerings from various places overseas. The early ties with the West are evident by the presence of *kantharoi* of the Etruscan Buccero-type (Reginos and Spanodimos 2009, 376–377 and no. 26, fig. 2στ'). The existence of Corcyrean staters in two important hoards of the Classical period, those of Taras and Asyut, and the content of coin hoards from Corcyra strengthen the evidence for the existence of a lively economy (Augerinou 2014, 9–12).

The existence of a wide commercial network is made clear by the find spots of the Corcyrean amphorae that were produced on the island (an extensive workshop was excavated at Figareto, near the harbour) specifically for the transport of its famous wine. In addition to being found in the western Balkans and Leukas, Corcyrean amphorae have turned up in the West, at several spots in southern Italy and Sicily, Lipari, the north Adriatic, and as far as Antibes, Massalia, Majorca, Carthage, and Euesperides (Benghazi) (Kourkouvelis 2001). It is noteworthy that the production of the Corcyrean amphorae flourished from the 5th to the 3rd century BC (Kourkouvelis 2001, 154, 156). The decline in amphora production must reflect some decline or change

in the production or trade of Corcyrean wine. Furthermore, the lively production of objects in other workshops ceased at about the same period. This is evident in the case of a ceramic workshop engaged in the production of *pithoi* in northern Corcyra (6th-3rd century BC), a workshop in the southern part of the island concerned with the dying of fibers (4th-3rd century BC), and a further workshop in the town of Corcyra engaged in the production of purple-dye, to judge from the presence of thousands of *murex* shells found there and from the presence of a piping system (Metallinou 2011, 22). The fact that production of these workshops ceased after Corcyra handed itself over to Roman πίστις may be a coincidence and is perhaps to be regarded as the consequence of a long period of instability that exhausted the island. Given, however, the Roman interest in controlling the natural resources of the region and the fact that the promotion of Roman economic interests was of vital importance, Roman involvement in the modification of production, of the container-form or of trade in Corcyrean wine that resulted in the disappearance of Corcyrean amphorae is not to be excluded.

Surprisingly, written evidence for the presence of individuals of Greek origin from Magna Graecia on Corcyra is extremely limited.¹³ A number of Roman names attested in Corcyrean inscriptions indicate both the presence of Romans and a limited spread of Roman citizenship to locals. Roman names attested in texts dated to the 1st century BC or even in the first decades of the 1st century AD can hardly be associated with Corcyreans who had acquired Roman *civitas*, since Greek possessors of Roman citizenship as a rule proliferate in Greek *poleis* only from the reign of Claudius onwards, even in cosmopolitan Athens (Byrne 2003, xii). Some of these individuals appear indeed as holders of Corcyrean religious or political offices, whilst two Latin epitaphs and two Latin dedications to Zeus Kassios indicate that there was a western group of settlers or an indeterminate number of passengers coming and going.¹⁴ There was probably still some interaction with the coast of Epirus, at least in terms of individuals going to and fro, since the distance is small. This can perhaps be traced in the attestation of a πρυτανεύσας called Κορνήλιος Π(οπλίου) υἱὸς Ἑπειρωτικός (IG IX 1² 4, 841), whose cognomen emphasises the existence of this interaction and moreover recalls the *Epirotici homines*, the Roman settlers in Epirus (Varro, *Rust.* 2.1.28; 5.1; 5.18; Cic., *Att.* 1.13.1).

A novelty is to be observed in the settlement pattern. Traditionally, only the *polis* Corcyra, situated on the peninsula of Palaeopolis, dominated the whole island. It controlled several settlements, located particularly at the North/North-West coast near ports that facilitated a faster passage to Italy (Choremi-Spetsieri 2011, 90). It is significant that a new political centre, Kassiopī, developed precisely at the most northern point of the island, at an important location for crossing the Adriatic. Its first mention occurs in Cicero's *Letters* (*ad fam.* 16.9) and the fact that the first phase of its public buildings does not predate the Roman period (Choremi-Spetsieri 2011, 96) shows that its foundation was required to ensure a direct connection with Rome and Italy. Remains of *villae* and baths located on the northern and eastern coast of

Corcyra, at Arachavi, Benitses, Moraitika, Petritti, and Kassiopi, show a social circle either of western origin or one that was well aware of the trends and lifestyle in Italy and willing to adopt them (Karamanou 2004, 98). This pattern of exploitation of land resources and access to marine resources is also to be observed in villas on other Ionian islands in the Roman period.

Leukas

From the 4th century BC and especially from the Hellenistic period onwards, Leukas belonged to an extensive network of external contacts, both eastern and western. As early as the 4th century BC, coins of Leukas appear in coin-hoards on Sicily, a fact which can be accounted for either by assuming that Leukas sold its staters to Dionysios I of Syracuse or by positing the existence of commercial contacts between Leukas and Sicily (Bonelou 2004, 220 and pl. on 226 for specific locations on Sicily). The trading activities of the Leukadians are apparent in the numerous coins of *poleis*, leagues and kingdoms found on the island. These include the coins of nearby Acarnania, Aitolia, Kephallenia, Corcyra, Phokis, and those of Illyria, Macedonia, Sicyon, Corinth and other Peloponnesian *poleis*, of Aigina, of the Ptolemies, of the Roman Republic, and coins from Lipari, Sicilian-Carthaginian coins and coins of the Mamertines (Liampi 2009, 32). The origins of numerous stamped amphora handles attest to the presence of imported goods from various places, whilst the existence of a local workshop involved in the production of amphorae indicates trade of local products (Gravani 2009, 53, 57).

These exchanges of coins between Leukas and other states acquire a stronger historical significance, if we study them in combination with the presence of numerous foreigners in funerary inscriptions from Leukas, a *mélange* of people of different origins, either settled or sojourning or passing-by, including also individuals from the West: Παρμονίσκ[ος] Ἀριστοφῶν[ος] Συρακόσιος (IG IX 1² 4, 1308, perhaps 4th century BC), [– – –] Συρακόσιος and two more Greek names mentioned on a funerary *columela* of the 3rd century BC (IG IX 1, 595; IX 1² 4, 1277), Δημήτριος Μασσαλιώτης in the Hellenistic period (IG IX 1, 590; IX 1² 4, 1284; cf. Lomas 2004), [B]λάννων [Καρ]χηδόνιος (IG IX 1² 4, 1439)¹⁵, [A]ρχῆς [Δ]εξιλάου [– – –]ωνιάτης, perhaps [Κροτ]ωνιάτης (IG IX 1² 4, 1386, 3rd century BC). Influences on techniques used in pottery found in the Hellenistic cemeteries of the island indicate substantial Italian contacts (Pliakou 2009, 207).

Beyond individuals of Hellenic origin from Magna Graecia, the presence of Roman individuals is attested on Leukas by the early 2nd century BC. This is evident in Livy's account of the dramatic siege by Flaminius in 197 BC, when certain 'exiles of the Italian race', who lived on the island, came down from the citadel and welcomed the soldiers (33.17.11: ... *ni exules quidam Italici generis Leucade habitantes ab arce milites accepissent*). Researchers agree that Livy's 'exules' were not exiles but merchants from Italy (Wilson 1966, 95; Briscoe 1973, 280). After the siege by Flaminius, Leukas recovered and, although it was weakened politically, especially after its detachment

from the Acarnanian League (168/7 BC), it continued to have a lively economic life and attracted foreign traders. This is evident in three identical inscriptions, Ἀπολλωνιάται οἰκοδόμησαν, carved on limestone blocks indicating some building or repair activity undertaken by Apollonians probably after the destructions caused by the siege (IG IX 1² 4, 1234–1236; cf. Strauch 1997, 242; Pliakou 2001, 151). The reason why these foreigners had an interest in being involved in the renewal of the island is probably connected with their economic activities.

Given the existence of the already wide trade network in which the island was embedded, it is possible that Roman traders settled there. The fact that some years later, in 187 BC, the senate passed a decree which laid down several privileges for Ambracia, provided that the Romans and the allies of the Latin confederacy were exempt from paying port-duties (Livy 38.44.4), points to a Roman interest in trade in Ionian waters (Zoumbaki 2012b). A snapshot of the Mediterranean trade and transportation network, a possible link between Puteoli and Leukas, is perhaps given by the bilingual funerary inscription of A(ulus) Cossinius Philocratis Puteolanus (IG IX 1² 4, 1451, 2nd /1st century BC). The name Cossinius is encountered beyond Puteoli, in nearby Bouthrotos as well as on Delos and Kos (Hatzfeld 1919, 39, 62, 153; Ehmgig and Haensch 2012, no. 183).

An attempt on the part of Leukas to create good relations with the Romans is perhaps to be traced in the revival of the cult of Aphrodite qualified by the epithet *Aeneas*. Although the cult of Aphrodite was always prominent on Leukas and her head is depicted on coins of the island from the 5th century BC, there are indications that this revival and iconography of the goddess on coins was the result of deliberate choices. Dionysios of Halicarnassos (1.50.4–1.51.1) mentions that Aphrodite *Aeneas* was worshiped on Leukas, Zakynthos, Actium and Ambracia. Thus Themelis suggests that, since Dionysios's source is Varro, the adoption of the epithet *Aeneas* for Aphrodite must have occurred not later than the middle of the 1st century BC, whilst Melfi connects the revival of the cult with the events of 167 BC (Themelis 1996, 175; Melfi 2013). In both cases it is clear that this was an attempt to exploit a local cult and mythological connection with *Aeneas* in the hope of creating a closer relationship with the Romans.

Such actions could not however save the *polis* of Leukas from being abolished under Augustus. Strabo (10.2.2) mentions Leukas among the *poleis* which participated in the *synoikismos* for the foundation of Nikopolis. Archaeological evidence shows that the fortified centre of Leukas declined, a fact which is to be connected with the transference of its population to the new foundation (Pliakou and Giza 2013, 736). Finds in the houses of the *polis* of Leukas are rare, presumably because portable objects were taken to Nikopolis. However, the presence of Roman coins minted from 48 to 15 BC and ceramic finds, such as 'Sarius-bowls' of the Augustan period, *sigillata* plates and bowls including *sigillata* of the Arretine workshop of L. Tettius (Samia) of 20 BC–AD 5 show that the move to Nikopolis was not instantaneous (Fiedler 2013, 83).

The countryside of the island, rather than being abandoned after the *synoikismos*, displays a network of well-organised and equipped farmhouses dating from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD and founded on older settlements of the same nature

(Pliakou and Giza 2013, 737). Some of these farmhouses can be defined as *villae* of the kind known to have been possessed by wealthy Roman landowners in Epirus (Pliakou 2004; Pliakou and Giza 2013; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2014, 49, 57). They are located along an ancient road connecting the *polis* with its western harbor, include residences with areas for symposia, central courtyards and baths, together with production and storage units, namely storerooms, wine-vats, oil presses, and purple-dye installations. The most important products on these estates were olive-oil and wine, these being highly desirable commodities, which were already being intensively produced on the island in the Classical period, as the well-organised system of towers dating from the 5th to the 3rd century BC. From the papyri-archive of Zeno (3rd century BC), it is clear that Leukadian wine was exported to Egypt. In the *P.Cair. Zen.* IV 59548 (November, 257 BC) in an account of wine distributions there are the entries (11.114–115) '(one) *keramion* of honey; one Leukadian jar (of wine)' referring either to Leukadian honey and wine or only to Leukadian wine (Kruit and Worp 2000, 65–146). Furthermore, Pliny (*HN* 14.76; cf. *Ath.* 1.33b) mentions that Peparethian and Leukadian wine was recommended to a Ptolemaic king by the physician Apollodoros. The importance of Leukadian wine, for example, is reflected in the iconography of the coins of the island dated to the period after 168 BC, on which an amphora and the vine are depicted (*BMC Thessaly to Aitolia*, pl. XXVIII 15–16). A local workshop involved in the production of amphorae has been identified; its existence probably shows that Leukadian wine was exported and this is also implied by the fact that grapes are depicted on amphora stamps in storerooms of the ancient harbour (Gravani 2009, 53, 57; Pliakou and Giza 2013, 735). The Roman outlook of the aforementioned estates perhaps shows that individuals from Italy who are attested on Leukas from at least the 2nd century BC onwards may have exploited the rich local agricultural production, whilst the favourable location of the island on various sea routes facilitated their transportation.

Beyond these edible products, luxury goods produced on Leukas may have been an excellent source of profit. There is evidence of the production of purple dye from *murex*, a species in abundance in the Ionian Sea and in the Ambraciote Gulf (Pliakou 2004, 55–56; Pliakou and Giza 2013, 742–745). Furthermore, the aromatic substance *irinum Leucade* (Plin., *HN* 21.19.42) was produced on Leukas and is also depicted on its coins (*BMC Thessaly to Aitolia*, 174 no. 43, 4th century BC; Zachos, Douzougli 2003, 75 [400–330 BC]). There is no evidence that Romans were engaged in its exploitation, but a Latin inscription roughly scratched on a triangular tile-fragment from the cave-sanctuary of Polis-Bay on Ithaca (dated accurately to the 1st of October in 35 BC) mentions an unguent seller from Rome, *Epaphroditus Novi, ungentarius de Sacra Via* (*IG IX* 1² 4, 1620). It is unclear whether nearby Leukas was a station on his route or whether his destination was a trade centre further in the East.

Since the *polis* of Leukas was deserted from the last decades of the 1st century BC, the products mentioned above, which were produced in the island's rich countryside, were certainly sold in external markets. The people who ran these estates were either locals who lived in the countryside or individuals from Italy since certain residences

display Roman features, as mentioned above, or a mixture of both Roman and local styles. Numerous amphora sherds found in the western branch of the ancient mole of Leukas are dated to from the 1st to the 5th century AD and are a testament to the continuous commercial importance of the island (Pliakou 2001, 152). The absence of a political centre explains the absence of inscriptions and consequently of written sources regarding these activities.

Ithaca

The traces of the passage of the unguent seller Epaphroditus on Ithaca (mentioned above) indicate that the island lay on the sea-route connecting the East with Italy. The collective memory of an ancestor who was a great wanderer, via the existence of an Odysseion on Ithaca, a place dedicated to the cult of Odysseus, which is mentioned in an inscription (IG IX 1² 4, 1729, l.29; cf. dedication to Odysseus IG IX 1² 4, 1615) and Odysseus's portrait on its coins indicate that the island was, even in the Roman period, associated with sea-journeys (*BMC Peloponnesus* 105–106). Moreover, Odysseus was associated with Roman mythology and represented a parallel figure to Aeneas, with whom he alternates in certain myths (Schmitzer 2005).

The recent discovery of two wrecks in the narrow channel between Fiscardo (Kephallenia) and North Ithaca, which are dated on the basis of their cargoes of amphorae to the Roman period – the first to the 1st century BC/1st century AD ('Dressel 6A') and the second to the 1st century BC–2nd century AD (Forlimpopoli/ Agora K114, Dressel 6A) – offers new evidence for commercial contacts with Italy and the route of the vessels in this period. Trading between the Ionian islands and the West was, however, longstanding as another shipwreck from the 4th/3rd century BC in the same region indicates (Delaporta 2000).

A stone sarcophagus of Tyrrhenian type bearing a sculpted couple lying on the lid was found in the Roman cemetery at Vathy (Gialouris 1973–1974, 2e, pl. 3a). This shows western contacts, perhaps not only at an artistic level, but also in the burial customs of the Ithacans. A project conducted by the British School at Athens and the local Ephorate of Antiquities concerning the archaeological exploration of Ithaca and Kephallenia has already borne its first important fruits and in particular deepens our knowledge of the Roman period with additional information (Livitsanis 2013; Morgan, Pentedeka and Soteriou 2014, 777). This investigation offers evidence for the participation of Ithaca in a wide commercial and cultural network during the Roman period; Ithaca had particularly close connections with Patras and Nikopolis, the two important Augustan foundations in Western Greece, whilst the pottery found on the island shows contacts with the Epirotan ceramic production. These recent investigations also brought to light imports from Asia Minor and early Roman fine ware, Arretine ware of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, and Campanian amphorae, whereas the objects produced by a local ceramic workshop display various artistic influences (Morgan, Pentedeka and Soteriou 2014, 777–780).

This stray and incomplete evidence of Ithaca's contacts with the external world will be certainly enriched by new results of the ongoing British-Greek archaeological investigations. Despite the fragmentary character of the evidence so far, it is apparent that Ithaca was part of the trade network connecting Italy with the East, if not as an attractive place for residence and activation of individuals from Italy certainly as a station on trade routes.

Kephallenia

Although Kephallenia is probably not to be identified with Melite, an island known from the *Acts of the Apostles* 27 f. as a station at which the ship bringing Paul to Rome landed and which is perhaps to be identified rather with Malta (Hofmann 2008, esp. 75, 79–80), there are numerous other indications of the island's crucial location on Mediterranean communication routes.

Remarkably, the presence of individuals of Greek origin from Magna Graecia is not particularly evident in the written sources. It is not certain, for example, whether Φιλίσκος Ἡροδότου Ἐλεάτης whose grave stele was found on Kephallenia, was a citizen of Elea in Magna Graecia or of the nearby town in Epirus (*IG IX 1² 4*, 1530, 2nd century BC; cf. Nocita 2010, 91). However, it is clear that the Romans were present on Kephallenia from early on. By the end of the 3rd/beginning of the 2nd century BC, a Roman, Μάρκος Κορνήλιος Γαΐου, appears in the lists from Delphi as a *thearodokos* at Same (Plassart 1921, 15 II 146). His appointment as *thearodokos* implies a stable, if not permanent, presence which was probably connected with some profitable economic activity.

Later, a Latin-speaking community existed on the island as a number of Latin inscriptions indicate. Two tombstones of veterans are to be dated to the 1st century AD. C(aius) Quintius C. f., of the tribe Publilia, originating from Verona, who served as a soldier of the *Legio III Scythica* and in the *centuria* of C(aius) Aninius, died on Kephallenia (*IG IX 1² 4*, 1547). The *centurio* has been identified as C(aius) Aninius C. f. Pom(ptina) Gallus from Arretium (*CIL XI* 5935) and an individual bearing the name Γάιος Ἀνινίου, whose tombstone was found on Leukas, is considered by the editors of *IG IX 1² 4* as the son of the *centurio* in question (*IG IX 1² 4*, 1374). Although the *Legio III Scythica* was in Macedonia and Moesia in the 1st century AD before it was transferred to Syria, the identification is not certain. Another veteran is mentioned in one of the two funerary inscriptions written on a *cippus*: Ditijs Pa[– –] from Savona served for 35 years as *faber navalis* (*IG IX 1² 4*, 1548), as a shipwright, whose task was to build a ship under the supervision of an *architectus navalis*, who performed the calculations and designed the plans of the ship (Ulrich 2007, 20, 273; Pomey 2009, 49, 59). Another Latin epitaph commemorates the centenarian Mastuma, along with Iulia Sostrata, who died at the age of 68 (*IG IX 1² 4*, 1552). The name Mastuma implies perhaps a Syrian origin, but the ethnic name of the individual is *Cephallen*. A further Latin epitaph is written on the back of the stele bearing a Greek inscription (*CIG IV* 6916). It is dated to the 2nd century AD and mentions L. Pomponius Rufus and his mother Heia Pomponia

(IG IX 1² 4, 1572). Further Roman influences are to be recognised in the habit of writing the funerary inscription within a *tabula ansata* (IG IX 1² 4, 1545, 1571; cf. figs. 1545 and 1571 on pl. XXXVII; cf. Fraser and Rönne 1957, 179–182) and in the mention of the age of the deceased (IG IX 1² 4, 1551, 1553, 1554, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1571, 1573).

Strabo (10.2.13) notes that Caius Antonius, uncle of Mark Antony, exiled after his consulship (63 BC), sojourned on Kephallenia, owned the whole island as private property (τὴν ὅλην νῆσον ὑπήκοον ἔσχεν), and founded a new town there, before he obtained permission to return home.

The four towns on the island still existed in the Roman period, but Same seems to have assumed a leading position, obviously because of its strategic location on the sea route between Kephallenia and Ithaca. Recent investigations show that the port was extended and numerous buildings identified as shops have been found along the coast, which suggest that the town evolved into a centre for trade (Dellis 2013, 53). The town itself expanded *extra muros* and public buildings, baths, and an aqueduct were constructed (Soteriou 2010, 107; Dellis 2013, 55–60). In the new districts of the town outside the city-walls luxurious houses with mosaic decorations were built, whilst the presence of a few monumental vaulted tombs and a burial chamber of the 2nd century AD show that Roman fashions were well-known in this region (Kalligas 1973, 426–427; Dellis 2013, 60–61). In the surroundings of Same, farmhouses and villas exploited the land resources. Villas were built along the eastern coast, such as those of Hagia Euphemia and Skala (2nd–4th century AD) near the coast, with lavish colour mosaics (Dellis 2013, 64–67; Soteriou 2010, 107–108) (Figs. 31 and 32). Along the channel between Kephallenia and Ithaca, new coastal settlements were founded during the Roman period, at Kateleios, Hagia Euphemia, and Fiscardo.

The most impressive of these settlements is that of Fiscardo, in the north, a stone's throw from Ithaca on the narrow channel between the islands, a completely Roman settlement, closely linked with Nikopolis. An honorific inscription of the 2nd century AD for the *prostates* and *euergetes* Titus Calpetanus Parthenios, which was erected in accord with a decree of the *boule*, shows clearly that this settlement had the status of a *polis* with political institutions. The name of the *polis* is ἡ πόλις Ἀδριανῶν Πανορμειτῶν. Panormos is already known from literary sources and can now be identified with the actual site of Fiscardo that possesses public buildings, baths, a small theatre or *odeion*, and a large cemetery with numerous tombs of various types (Soteriou 2010, 108; Soteriou 2013). The fact that no archaeological finds antedate the 1st century BC indicates the date of the foundation of the town. The structure of public spaces and of the cemetery display the strong influence of Italian prototypes and thus reveals the driving force behind the foundation as well as the western cultural attitudes, if not the western origins, of some of the inhabitants (Andreatou 2013, 70). These Italian influences are obvious in the funerary monuments, which imply close associations with Italian burial practices and close contacts with nearby Nikopolis (Andreatou 2013, 81–90). Two storey-tomb(s), burial-chambers, vaulted chambers, the especially impressive vaulted tomb with a slab door, and temple-like mausolea,



Fig. 31: Remains of the Roman villa at Skala, Kephallenia (Photo: author).

some of which preserve niches for the fixing of *imagines* of the deceased and *tabulae ansatae*, are of Italian style. Thus, the funerary monuments, the grave offerings, and the public buildings imply the existence of a prosperous society which exploited the island's lucrative location.

After a short period of decline, the remaining *poleis* on the island recovered and prospered thanks to profitable economic activities. Building complexes at Krane near the coast are associated with commercial activity, whilst modifications to the urban layout of Pale were made during the Roman period (Soteriou 2013, 46 and nos. 101–102). A mosaic depicting dolphins in black-and-white silhouette, a style that was particularly popular in Italy, was found at Valtsa on the Pale peninsula and may have belonged to a house or to a sanctuary of Poseidon (Soteriou 2010, 107–108; Choremi-Spetsieri 2011, 35).

Although archaeological remains cannot be presented here in detail, this brief presentation stresses the fact that Kephallenia was particularly prosperous in the Roman period. A large portion of the island's wealth derived from the exploitation of its maritime resources. Wealth was also generated from the exploitation of natural resources, such as the pine-tree *abies cephalonica*, an excellent variety for ship building, as perhaps the presence of the *faber navalis* mentioned above shows. The depiction of



Fig. 32: Detail of mosaic in the Roman villa at Skala, Kephallenia (Photo: author).

the pine-cone on the island's coins shows the importance of this resource, together with agriculture and stock-raising, which were perhaps of economic interest to Roman settlers. Rams, ram's foot, bull's head, bearded corn, and barley corn were depicted already on Classical coins of the island (BMC *Peloponnesus* 77–93; cf. Efthymiatou-Katsouni and Phitos 2011; Zoumbaki 2012b, 84–85).

The existence of the above mentioned farm-houses of the villa-type reflects a certain evolution in local society and economy under Roman influence. This influence is perhaps also obvious in the development of the eastern coast of the island, which was apparently more suitable for sea communication and encouraged the foundation of new and vibrant settlements along the coastline.

Zakynthos

Livy (21.7.1–2) and Pliny (HN 16.79.216) state that Zakynthos founded the *polis*

Saguntum in Spain, which was also known as Zacantha or Zacynthus and where colonists from Ardea are recorded as well. The historicity of these events cannot be proven, however (Koutroubas 2001, 14–16; cf. Domínguez 2006, 449 no. 58, 462–466, 485), and further indications of direct contacts between Zakynthos and the West are limited.

After it was plundered by C. Livius Salinator, Zakynthos is rarely mentioned in written sources. Appian (12.6.45) writes that during the period of the Mithridatic Wars Romans attacked a Pontic fleet which landed on the island. It is not clear whether they were settlers or a military unit. Any settlement of Roman businessmen, if it existed on Zakynthos, has left no traces. While several inscriptions mentioning Roman names have been found on the other three major Ionian islands, such names are almost completely absent in Zakynthian inscriptions (IG IX 1² 4, 1737: Κέστις <Π>ουφῖνος).¹⁶

It is noteworthy that the decisive clash between Mark Antony and Augustus, two rivals who embody the final confrontation between Rome and the East, took place on this symbolic borderline. Whilst Zakynthos was in Antony's hands, Kephallenia was apparently a base of Augustus. A coin thought to be of the Kephallenian town Krane or of Ithaca bears the name and the portrait of C. Proculeius, who was Augustus's political

friend and probably commander of his fleet and perhaps quartered on Kephallenia (or Ithaca) (Postolakas 1868, nos. 925–928; *BMC Peloponnesus*, Introduction XLII and 83; cf. Eck 2001). To Zakynthos is attributed a series of bronze coins bearing the name of C. Sossius, commander of Mark Antony's fleet during the battle of Actium, who probably governed Zakynthos during this period (*BMC Peloponnesus* 102; cf. Bartels 2001). It is notable that the name Sossius is attested later in nearby Elis (*IvO* 120–121). Perhaps despite his activity on Zakynthos, it is likely that he developed closer relations with the Eleans than with the Zakynthians. 19th century travellers were already casting doubts on reports of the existence of the funerary inscription of Cicero, to which a lady named Tertia Antonia added her name, and on the existence, too, of an urn bearing his name and supposedly his ashes, found in 1544 on Zakynthos (Hughes 1820, 152–155).

Pliny (*HN* 4.19 [12]) refers to Zakynthos, along with Kephallenia and Ithaca, as *civitates liberae*, whilst he praises Zakynthos for its remarkable *polis* and its superb fertility mentioned also by Strabo (εὐκαρπον, 10.2.18). Archaeological discoveries of luxurious private dwellings with baths and sculptural decoration (Choremi-Spetsieri 2011, 9–10) indicate that a well-to-do group in society, aware of Roman ways – if not in fact Italians – exploited Zakynthos's various resources. These perhaps included its fertile land and its bitumen, a valuable material used especially for the preservation of wine. It was also used as a sealing compound in shipbuilding, as fuel instead of olive-oil in lamps, and as a panacea for healing various illnesses (Pliny, *HN* 35.51.178–182). References in Latin literary sources show that Romans were well aware of its uses (Vitruvius, *De arch.* 8.3.8; cf. Koutroubas 2001, 19–22) and earlier still Herodotus describes the gathering of bitumen on Zakynthos (4.195.2–4). From Plutarch's narration (*Quaest. Graec.* 34) concerning a pirate ship and an old man carrying a pot of bitumen in some port of Ithaca, it is clear that this material was carried in clay-pots. The detail that a great deal of gold and silver was blended amongst the pitch is probably anecdotal, although it suggests that the material was valuable.

The scale of an inescapable impact on island identities

What Horden and Purcell (2000, 123–172) termed 'connectivity' is a basic feature of life on the islands. People, goods, raw materials, techniques, ideas, exotic stories and legends always sailed from and towards the islands of the Ionian Sea. This exclusive location played a major role in the formation of the identity of the insular communities (Knapp 2007, 40–45, 47, 49–51) along with local traditions and a collective 'memory' of mythological ancestors who were great wanderers, such as Odysseus, Aeneas, and heroes of the legends related to *Nostoi*. However, connectivity among the islands does not exceed the level of expected mobility and exchange on a small scale. As was made clear, the Ionian islanders did not have a united identity. The profile of each island was formed by the merging of tradition and local collective memory with several influences which arose primarily from contacts with the opposite Greek shore. The islands also had

contacts with Italy, first with populations of Greek origin there and later with Romans, in addition to further stray contacts elsewhere within the Mediterranean basin.

To assess the identity or identities of the Ionian islands in the Roman period is to reckon with the political, military, and economic presence of Rome and its impact on various levels of everyday life. Roman military and political control over the islands brought about changes that affected local life, either instantly or gradually. The entrance of Rome onto the scene made it clear that island populations had to adapt to new balances of power. Corcyra requested protection from the very beginning and the remaining communities understood the new order of things sooner or later. The evolution of a gradual change in these island societies had begun long before Augustus's total reorganisation of the islands and the coastal zone of the mainland. This included the foundation of Nikopolis, which absorbed populations from the neighbouring continental and island communities, including Leukas. During a long period that preceded Augustus's reforms, political actions, such as the detachment of Leukas from the Acarnanian League (167 BC), Rome's interference in internal affairs (cf. *IG IX 1*² 4, 796 and Strauch 1996, 137), military depredations, as in the case of Corcyra, which suffered at the hands of Agrippa (Dio Cass. 50.11; cf. Choremis-Spetsieri 2011, 94 on archaeological evidence), the award of freedom to Zakynthos and Kephallenia (Plin., *HN* 4.54; Strauch 1996, 189, no. 158), and the handing over of Kephallenia to Athens by Hadrian (Dio Cass. 69.16) affected certain aspects of local life, but these political measures did not modify very strongly the identities of the islands. Leaving aside the foundation of Nikopolis that affected the everyday life of the Leukadians since Leukas participated in the *synoekismos*, the remaining political actions could not have had an important impact on people's identity. An option for the island communities was to adapt to the new order of things through the presentation of a deliberately chosen 'identity', a policy whose aim was to survive and gain the favour of Rome. Cults and legends were then utilised in order to forge a profile that evoked feelings of sympathy and kinship with the Romans. A good example is the cult of Aphrodite found at several places in western Greece and on several islands, with Leukas being an eloquent example. Although this cult was always prominent on Leukas, its revival and the adoption of the epithet *Aeneas* are a deliberate policy of displaying an image close to Roman tradition, thereby currying favour with the new rulers. The cult of Odysseus in Polis-Bay of Ithaca which was served in the Roman period and respected by Romans as well, as the attestation of an *unquentarius* there shows, was perhaps encouraged in the context of Odysseus' role in Roman myths.

A factor that gradually influenced the structures of everyday life and the face of society was Rome's economic interest in the region. This involved either the physical presence of Romans or the imposition of new principles on the economy and the exploitation of the natural advantages and resources of the region. For example, based on the disappearance of Corcyrean amphorae from the late 3rd century BC, namely after the placing of Corcyra under Roman protection, it seems likely that Roman economic interests contributed to socio-economic change on the island.

Major novelties are to be observed in settlement patterns. New settlements, even new *poleis*, such as Kassiope on Corcyra and Panormos on Kephallenia, appear at spots crucial for trade and communications. The outlook of Panormos, so far as it is to be traced mainly in funerary monuments, is overwhelmingly Italian. A new form of agricultural unit resembling villas known from various regions in Italy or imitations of such settlements known in other Greek regions appeared on the islands (Zoumbaki 2014). Leukas does not appear to have possessed a political centre in the Imperial period but the island seems to have had an organised villa-economy in the countryside. Suburban and country villas on Kephallenia and Corcyra, especially on the eastern coasts of the islands, form part of a new settlement and economy pattern.

The physical presence of individuals, directly or indirectly attested in written sources, is rather scarce. However, there is a considerable number of individuals (especially on Kephallenia) who are clearly of western origin, as the epigraphic evidence shows. Early attestation of Roman names is to be associated with such individuals, since Roman names and citizenship proliferate in Greek *poleis* only from the early 1st century AD. Attestation of Romans as local officeholders on Corcyra or the *thearodokos* on Kephallenia show integration of a Western element into local societies. Their settlement on the islands cannot be interpreted in political or cultural terms, but only in economic terms, as the islands formed a marginal zone from a political and cultural aspect, both for Rome and the centres of mainland Greece. Written evidence is poor and prevents any in-depth examination of the composition of local societies, of the proportion of Roman settlers, their status and their connections with other Roman residents in neighbouring regions. Since epigraphic evidence is limited, we need to supplement our knowledge with archaeological data. Archaeological evidence suggests integration of Roman material culture and Roman habits into local society or a part of it, the presence of imports from Italy, a preference for an Italian style of funerary practices, and villa-type houses. This implies the presence of Western settlers who made an impact on local societies.

However, the stray appearance of Latin epitaphs does not negate the predominance and persistence of the Greek language. Italian-style grave monuments and extra-urban settlements of villa-type seem gradually to infiltrate into patterns of local evolution, rather than survive as distinct forms, even though the new towns do not seem to flourish over the long term. The Roman presence probably played a dynamic role in local island societies, but its influence does not seem to have modified local features completely. The majority of Western settlers were apparently of non-elite social origin, such as veterans on Kephallenia and individuals on Corcyra whose cognomina show descent from freedman stock.¹⁷ Generally, individuals of this social status stressed their Roman citizenship and their ties with their powerful patrons but also sought to integrate themselves into local communities and, although they appear to have persistently maintained their Roman outlook, were gradually 'hellenized'. A relatively small number of Roman names in the inscriptions shows the restricted diffusion of Roman citizenship to indigenous individuals, and even this is to be observed only on Corcyra and Kephallenia, whilst Roman names on the remaining islands are almost

absent. A small social circle seems to have performed the rites of the imperial cult and to have been linked to powerful individuals of senatorial rank.¹⁸

The strongest imprint of the physical presence of Italians and Romans is to be observed first on Kephallenia and then on Corcyra and Leukas, while poor traces have been left on Zakynthos and Ithaca. An incidental lack of evidence is not to be excluded. The lack of inscriptions from Leukas after its synoecism with Nikopolis is not surprising but the absence of epigraphic evidence is difficult to be explained in the case of Zakynthos, a large and rich island. Literary sources suggest that Romans were aware of various exploitable natural resources of the islands and of the advantages of their location on the trade route connecting the two shores of the Adriatic. Were certain islands more important stations on this route than others? Perhaps Zakynthos was not a station at all for those sailing from the harbours in the Corinthian Gulf, and especially from the important port of Patras, to Italy. As for Ithaca, its vicinity with Kephallenia and its barren land may have not been especially attractive as a place of settlement. That it was on route is evident from the shipwrecks with cargoes of Italian amphorae in the narrow channel separating the island from Kephallenia.

Further progress in the archaeological investigation of the Ionian islands will certainly offer more details which will supplement and contextualise all of the above remarks. It is in any case evident that the Ionian islands were of interest to the Romans, both as a bridgehead for their passage to the East and as a region rich in natural resources. Island identities built on ancient traditions, shaped by various external contacts and influences, were still subject to change and adaptation within a Mediterranean which was transformed into '*mare nostrum*'.

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Notes

- 1 The presence of an Eretrian settlement on Corcyra in the Geometric period has been suggested by certain scholars (Walker 2004, esp. 145–147) and has been disputed by others (Bakhuizen and Kreulen 1976, esp. 22–23); for a review of the theories, see Metallinou 2010, 13–14. The settlement was displaced in the last decades of the 3rd c. BC by the 'colonial empire' of Corinth, which included Leukas (Graham 1964, 118–149; cf. Reboton 2008; Quantin 2012). Pottery from Corinth and Euboea dated to after 800 BC found at Aetos on Ithaca suggests that the town functioned as a staging post (Abulafia 2011, 87).
- 2 IG IX 1² 4, 1582 (Same), 1729 (Ithaca); Kern 1900, 25–26, no. 35; Rigsby 1996, 212–215, nos. 85–86 suggests that the provision of an escort to Ithaca was a common civility of diplomacy and does not imply dependence.
- 3 Paleans and Leukadians along with Anaktorians participated in the battle of Plataiai (Hdt.

9.28). Zakynthians aided Corcyreans in 432 BC (Thuc. 1.47.2). However, Pale independently of other Kephallenian towns in 431 BC, before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war aided the Corinthians against Corcyra (Thuc. 2.27). Corcyreans aided Apollonia, Dyrrachion and Leukas against Cassander (Diod.Sic. 19.80.3). A Corcyrean mentions in his funerary inscription that he fought against brigands, perhaps Illyrians, on Strophades, off Zakynthos (IG IX 12, 4, 928, 3rd c. BC, before 227 BC; Robert 1960, 272–274).

Corcyreans and perhaps Leukadians are mentioned along with Apollonians in the epigram on a monument erected at Corinth commemorating Timoleon's victory in Syracuse over Carthaginians (c. 341 BC, *Corinth* 8.3.23; cf. *I. Apollonia* T 307; SEG 28,380; cf. Kent 1952; Manganaro 2002, 114–115; Langher 2002 on Timoleon; cf. Plut. *Tim.* esp. 25–30). It has been suggested that Leukas, along with Corcyra, was annexed by the Syracusan Agathocles after his confrontation with Cassander and was given by him to Pyrrhos as the dowry of his daughter Lanassa (Liampi 2009, 33).

- 4 The gravestelai of [A]λκινόα [Zα]κυν[θία] (IG IX 1² 4, 964, 2nd c. BC) and Φιλωτίς Λευκαδία (IG IX 1² 4, 945, 3rd/2nd c. BC) were found on Corcyra. Gravestelai of Corcyreans found on Leukas: one bearing the names of two women, Philistis, daughter of Aristomedon, and Heracleia, daughter of Aristomedon (Kalligas 1978–80, 82, no. 2; IG IX 1² 4, 1254, 3rd c. BC), further the epitaphs of Kleinomachos (Kalligas 1978–80, 82–83, no. 1, 3rd c. BC), Philika (IG IX 1² 4, 1289, 2nd c. BC) and Alexa (IG IX 1² 4, 1398, 2nd/1st c. BC).

- 5 Kephallenia: Lykiskos is attested as *komodos* and later as *didaskalos* in the Soteria games (SGDI II 2564, l.61; 2566, l.68). Attested in amphictyonic documents (Drakon: FD III 2, 86, l.11; 4, 127, l.6. Aristodamos of Pronnoi: FD III 4, 362, l.10. Sotakos of Same: FD III 2, 134 B, l.7. Oiantheios: FD III 4, 173, l.7). Funerary inscription of two Kephallenians, [...]ῶν [Π]ίτθις Κεφαλλῆνες ἐκ Παλέων (Bousquet 1938, 334, no. 2; Daux 1944–1945, 121, no. 32).

Zakynthos: Moschion was awarded proxeny along with further privileges (FD III 2, 185, 277/6 BC). Philonides is attested as priest of the artists for many years and once as actor in Soteria games (SGDI 2563, l.1–3; 2564, ll.1–2; 2565, ll.1–2; 2566, ll.1–2).

- 6 Corcyra: (1) Fragmentary oracular inscription (c. 400–350 BC): IG IX 1² 4, 1201; Lhôte 2006, no. 1. (2) Oracular inscription for the Corcyreans and the Oriceans (c. 350–300 BC): Dakaris, Christidis and Vokotopoulou 1993, 60, M-33; IG IX 1² 4, 1203; Lhôte 2006, no. 2. (3) Oracular inscription (c. 400–350 BC): IG IX 1² 4, 1202; Lhôte 2006, no. 3. (4) Fragmentary oracular inscription (4th c. BC): Lhôte 2006, no. 4. (5) Fragmentary honorific decree from Dodona (late 3rd c. BC): Dakaris 1989, 179 (SEG 38, 457), preserving the name of the Corcyrean sculptor Melissos, son of Epikrates. Leukas: Dedication to Zeus Naios by the Leukadian, Philokleidas, son of Damophilos, preserved on a fragment of a bronze vase, Lazzarini 1976, 229, 379 (6th/5th c. BC); Dieterle 2007, 88, fig. 21 (dates to the 3rd c. BC). Kephallenia: Dedication of an inscribed bronze band by Paleans, Lazzarini 1976, 308, 907 (5th c. BC); Dieterle 2007, 91 (late 4th/early 3rd c. BC). Zakynthos: Inscription on a bronze stele dedicated to Zeus by the Zakynthian Agathon, son of Echephylos, and his *genea*, defined as πρόξενοι Μολοσσῶν καὶ συμμάχων and descendants in the 30th generation of the Trojan Cassandra: IG IX 1² 4, 1750 (c. 330 BC); cf. SEG 50, 543; 54, 574; Dieterle 2007, 89–90 (last quarter of the 4th c. BC). Meyer 2013, 73–74, 90 dates it to early Pyrrhos's reign; 72–79 for Molossian and Epirotan identity. Fraser 2003 checked the narrative of myths related to Cassandra and suggests that Agathon and his *genea* 'traced their ancestry back to the Trojan hero related to the barren Cassandra, who had come westwards with Aeneas'. This hero was perhaps Agathon, Cassandra's brother and he also followed Aeneas. Cassandra's other brother, Helenos, was in *Nostoi* active in Molossian region and especially Dodona, and married Andromache after Neoptolemos's death. The Molossian royal house claimed descend from Neoptolemos (Pyrrhos) and Helenos (Olympias).
- 7 Leukas: Delphi: (1)FD III 1, 183. (2)SGDI 2569 (SEG 44, 426). (3)Syll³585, ll. 99–100. Epidauros: IG IV²1, 50; 350. Corcyra: Delphi: IG IX 1² 4, 1198–1200. Olympia: Paus. 5.27.9

- 8 Parmeniskos from Corcyra: Moretti 1957, nos. 659 (96 BC), 668 (88 BC). Polyxenos's, son of Apollophanes from Zakynthos, victory was commemorated by his hometown with a monument in Olympia: *IvO* 224; *IG IX* 1² 4, 1749; cf. Moretti 1957, no. 737 (4 BC). A boxer from Kephallenia: *IvO* 185+OlB VI, 211–214; cf. Moretti 1957, no. 625 (156 BC ?).
- 9 *IG IX* 1² 4, 1475 (Leukas); 1583 (Krane); cf. *SEG* 41, 332; 49, 423. Themelis 1996, 174–177 inclines to dating this restoration to 217/6–197 BC, whilst Melfi 2013 suggests a date sometime after Leukas's detachment from the Acarnanian League (167 BC) and the beginning of its independent coinage that include silver coins depicting a standing Aphrodite holding an aplustre, *BMC Coins Thessaly* 179–180, nos. 78–103. Melfi 2013 also attempts to date Damophon's activity in Krane after 189 BC and to associate it to a restoration of Zeus Aine(s)ios's statue, which she recognises on coins of C. Procleius.
- 10 Phoinike: Epitaphs of Corcyreans: (1) De Maria and Gjongecaj 2007, 134. (2) Molotas, son of Aischrion, defined as πρόξενος Χαόνων (mid. 3rd c. BC; De Maria 2002, 342–343 [*SEG* 54, 579]). (3) Timarchis, daughter of Soteris (*IG IX* 1² 4, 1066, 2nd c. BC). (4) Ariston, son of Alexion (*IG IX* 1² 4 1065, 3rd c. BC). Bouthrotos: Proxeny decree of the *koinon* of the Prasaioboi for the Corcyrean Moschidas, his wife Lyso and his son Ariston, granting various privileges including *enktesis* (*I.Bouthrotos* 10, after 163 BC). Palaeros: Epitaph of the Corcyraean Xeno (*IG IX* 1² 2, 470; *IX* 1² 4, 1064, 3rd c. BC). Anaktorion: Epitaph of the Corcyrean Kalliphron (*IG IX* 1² 2, 233; *IX* 1² 4, 1070). Actium: The Corcyrean Epigenes, son of Pasio, is honoured with proxeny by the Acarnanians (*IG IX* 1² 2, 209 [*SEG* 17, 278]; cf. *IG IX* 1² 4, fasti Corc. 72, mid. 2nd c. BC).

An arbitration decree between Mondaia and Azoros (shortly after 178 BC) found on Corcyra, names three arbiters, from Corcyra, Apollonia and Dyrrachion (Il.10–14) '... μναμονεύοντος Λυσάνο[ρος τοῦ] Φιντύλου Ἀπολλωνιάτα κα[ὶ] συν[δ]ικαστᾶν Ξενοφάντου τοῦ [Δα]μέα Κορκυραίου, Κλεοστράτο[υ τοῦ] Δαμάρχου Δυρραχίνου ...' (*IG IX* 1 689; cf. *I.Epidamnus* T 520).

Epigraphic attestation of individuals from the opposite coast on Corcyra: *IG IX* 1² 4, 791 (honorific decree for Pausanias, son of Attalos from Ambracia, early 2nd c. BC); 792 (proxeny decree for Boiskos, son of Lykophron from Dodona, 2nd c. BC); 894 ([Ἀ]ντάλλου Τατταρίνος, both names are attested on the opposite Dalmatian coast and Dyrrachion, perhaps an implication of the man's origin, 3rd c. BC); 904 (epitaph of the Aitolian Dionysios, son of Artemidoros, 3rd c. BC); 929 (funerary epigram of Sinnas [and Alken or Alkenas ?] from Amphilochia, 3rd c. BC, before 227 BC; cf. *IG IX* 871); 951 (epitaph of the Elean Kalisthenes and Asteia from Pisa, 2nd c. BC).

On Corcyrean and Leukadian coins found at Phoinike: Gjongecaj 2007, 168–171; on Corcyrean coins found in Epirus beyond Phoinike see Meyer 2013, 76 no. 216.

- 11 Cf. e.g., the Roman, Λεύκιος Λευκίου Ὀλκαῖος Ῥωμαῖος in a list of *proxenoi* of the Aitolian Koinon from Thermos (*IG IX* 1² 1, 17, l. 51) along with individuals of Greek origin from Syracuse, Metapontion and Agrigentum (Il.67–68, 74–75, 93–94), dated to about 271/270 (Grainger 2000, 65) or 263/2 BC (Habicht 1982, 382–383). Tombstone from Argos Amphilochikon (4th/3rd c. BC) bearing the name Χρησίμου Ἰταλιώτα (Antonetti 2011, 391–407, esp. 398–402 for the use of the ethnic name *Italiotas*). Cf. Zoumbaki 2011 for further indications of Roman presence in Western Greece.
- 12 On Corcyra's political and military role in the Adriatic in the Archaic period Antonelli 2002. For an overview of Corcyrean economy particularly in the 5th/4th c. BC see Intrieri 2010, 181–199; Psoma 2015. Cf. also Carroccio 2011, 411–418 on 'Corcyrean' staters of Alexander of Epirus found in Italy, 430 and no. 155 on coinage of Italian mints from the 3rd c. BC in the Corcyrean standard.
- 13 *IG IX* 1² 4, 789 (3rd c. BC): Proxeny decree for Philistion, son of Theudoros, Lokros. W. Dittenberger (*IG IX* 1, 685) suggests that his town of origin was Lokroi Epizephyrioi, because his name is common in Sicily and Southern Italy, but not attested in Lokroi Ozoles or Opountioi. Cf. Nocita 2010, 89–90. *IG IX* 1² 4, 968: Funerary stele of Myrtis from Syracuse (2nd/1st c. BC).
- 14 Individuals attested as officeholders: *IG IX* 1² 4, 803: Τε[ρ]εν[τίαν] ----]ναν, Νίγρου γυν[αῖκα], τὰν ἱερείτεύου[σαν τᾶς ----] (1st c. BC/1st c. AD). 840: Πόπλιος Λευκίου (1st c. BC) *synarchos*

of the *prytaneusas*. 841: Κορνήλιος Π(οπλίου) υἱὸς Ἑπειρωτικός, πρυτανεύσας (1st/2nd c. AD). 856: Λεύκιος Σαίνιος Φιλίππου υἱὸς Πρέπων, ἱερατεύσας τῷ κοινῷ τῆς συνόδου (1st c. BC ?).

Latin epitaphs: IG IX 1² 4, 989: *L(uci) Caicili salve* (1st c. BC/1st c. AD). 1008: *L(ucius) Aelius Priscus Priscilo filio suo fecit* (1st/2nd c. AD).

Dedications to Zeus Kassios: IG IX 1² 4, 842: *P(ublius) Hetereius Rufio* (1st c. BC/1st c. AD). 843: *M(arcus) Valerius Corvin[i] l(ibertus) Lorico* (second half of the 1st c. BC). The patron is to be identified with *M. Valerius Messala Corvinus* (PIR V 90).

- 15 The restoration [Καρ]χηδόνιος and not [Καλ]χηδόνιος is due to the fact that the name is attested as Phoenician. See Benz 1972, 90–93, 288–290.
- 16 Roman names attested in IG IX 1² 4, 1751–1779, formerly belonging to Conte Romas's collection, have been attributed to Rhenia (*BullEpigr* 1965, 61, 87–91).
- 17 IG IX 1² 4, 803 (Νίγρος), 1019 (Ποθίνη), 1020 (Φίλητος), 1023 (Μέμφις) etc.
- 18 Corcyra: IG IX 1² 4, 805 (φιλόκαισαρ), 816 (Nymphios connected with Herodes Atticus). Kephallenia: IG IX 1² 4, 1495 (ἀρχιερασαμένη τῆς Σεβ(αστῆς)).

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Chapter 6

The Cult of Silvanus in the Central Adriatic Islands between Insularity and Connectivity

Danijel Dzino

The central Adriatic islands – Vis, Hvar, Brač, Korčula, Šolta – provide an excellent case study for research on connectivity and insularity due to their natural characteristics and geographic position. These islands possess important resources for agricultural production, making their inhabitants, to a significant degree, self-sufficient. On the other hand, they have commanding positions within the network of the Adriatic maritime connections – either as an important thoroughfare for navigation between the eastern and western (Italian) coasts, or as a part of the eastern Adriatic navigation route. Such a favourable location is all the more important given that the eastern Adriatic navigation route was crucial for communication before the modern era as the Italian coast was used only for short-distance local navigation. The archipelago is also well connected internally because the islands are relatively close to each other and are in close proximity to the eastern Adriatic mainland from where the most important cultural influences usually arrived (Fig. 33).¹

This paper will focus on one aspect of cultural exchange between the central Adriatic islands and the Roman world: the cult of Silvanus. Like many other Roman cults, it presents an opportunity to observe interactions between Roman imperial aspects of the cult and its reception in local settings. Originally of Italic origins, this divinity of pastures, forests, boundaries between fields, and of the unknown, untamed nature was very popular throughout the Empire, especially amongst the lower classes (Dorcey 1992). In Dalmatia, it was one of the most popular cults during the Roman era, judging by the preserved corpus of evidence. Moreover, visual representations of Silvanus in Dalmatia are strikingly different from the rest of the Empire – Silvanus is represented as the Greek god Pan, shown frequently alongside female companions (usually referred to in literature as ‘the Nymphs’), elements which are not recorded anywhere else in the Empire except in Pannonia. Even in Pannonia there are only two representations of Silvanus with goat-legs – one from Bassianae in southeastern Pannonia (*CIL* 3.14340; Brunšmid 1905, 57–58, fig. 113) and another in Mursa (*AE* 1973, 450; *ILJug* 19, 1062).

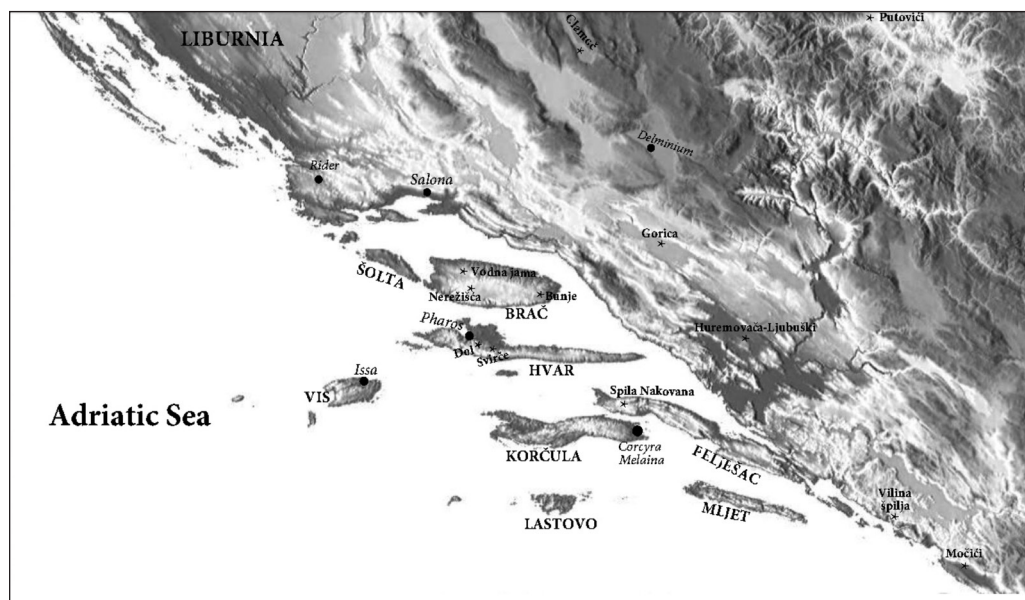


Fig. 33 Map of the Dalmatian islands (Photo: author).

This peculiarity has been interpreted in two different ways. One view, developed by Schneider (Hirschfeld and Schneider 1885, 34–47) and Von Domaszewski (1895, 14; 1902, 19–20), and developed by Croatian scholars, implies that Silvanus represented an indigenous divinity visually depicted as Pan but recognised as ‘Silvanus’ through *interpretatio Romana* (Raknić 1965; Imamović 1977, 55–82; Medini 1984; Rendić-Miočević 1989, 425–441, 461–507, 508–523, 531–539; Zaninović 2007, 215–219). An opposing view argues that Silvanus in Dalmatia (and Pannonia) was originally an Italian divinity embraced by the locals – regardless of the peculiar ways in which he was represented (Mócsy 1974, 250–252; Nagy 1994, 773; Wilkes 1992, 259; Dorcsey 1992, 68–71).

More recent works have acknowledged the importance of negotiations between the indigenous and Graeco-Roman cultural traditions of this cult, although some scholars refrain from offering theoretical explanations for the particularities of this negotiation (Maršić 1993/94; 1997/98; Cambi 1998/2000; Matijašić and Tassaux 2000, 76–91; Rendić-Miočević 2003; 2006; 2007a; 2007b; Rendić-Miočević and Pedišić 2005; Wilkes 2009, 43; Bekavac 2011). A few recent papers have approached the cult using more complex theoretical frameworks, asking ‘how’ and ‘why’ the cult of Silvanus was so successful and different in Dalmatia. My own papers (Dzino 2012a; 2016, 205–08) emphasise the aspects of ‘how’, arguing that Dalmatian Silvanus was an invented tradition – an outcome of cultural negotiation and active agency coming from the indigenous population on one side and the Greek and Italian settlers on the other. Ljubica Perinić (2015) shows the importance of individual agency in practice of this cult and the strategies used in combining Dalmatian Silvanus with the existing imperial religious and visual templates. Josipa Lulić (2014) tackled the problem of

Dalmatian Silvanus by looking at ‘why’ – assessing the cult, in particular the images, within the framework of a cognitive religion approach. Her argument described how the image, ritual and cult of Roman Silvanus corresponded on some levels with the existing spiritual and supernatural cognitive schemes of the indigenous population. The most important argument in the paper is that Dalmatian Silvanus should be seen as a concept, created from the bottom up, and negotiated separately as a sub-concept throughout local Dalmatian communities.²

While the evidence from the central Adriatic islands is limited to a few examples from only two islands – Hvar and Brač – it still provides sufficient material to observe this cult in particular circumstances of insularity and connectivity within the wider imperial world.

The Central Adriatic Islands

During the early Iron Age the Central Adriatic islands were influenced more from the northern Adriatic, but in the later Iron Age cultural influences from the mainland predominated, especially from the so-called Central Dalmatian (or Gorica) Iron age cultural group (Čović 1987; Batović 2004; *cf.* in English: Wilkes 1992, 189–192). The material culture was characterised by communities inhabiting the area between the Krka and Cetina rivers, as well as the hinterland karst valleys of Sinj, Duvno, Livno, Glamoč and Imotski. In the existing literature these communities are often linked to the historical group known as the Delmatae, known from the second and first century BC (Šašel Kos 2005, 292–313; Dzino 2010, 62–69, 112–114; 2013, 147–149). Links with the mainland should not be over-exaggerated as these islands were more exposed to extensive contacts with the rest of the Mediterranean and their material culture shows more diversity than that of the hinterland. The most important Iron Ages sites are located on the island of Brač, especially Viča Luka in Bobovišće and Žaganj in Sumartin (Marović & Nikolanci 1968/69; Marović 1971; Stančić *et al.* 1999, 114, 173; site nos. BO177.00 and SU15.00; *cf.* Vrsalović 1960, 41–110).³

In the early fourth century BC, the establishment of Greek settlements on the islands of Vis (Issa-Vis), Hvar (Pharos-Stari Grad) and Korčula (Corcyra Melaina-Lumbarda) altered local and regional networks of power and intensified cultural exchange with the Greek and later Hellenistic world. New settlements did not exist isolated from their surroundings and archaeology, predictably, shows an important two-way cultural exchange between the settlers and indigenous population. Issa established a strong regional political alliance, even expanding to the settlements on the mainland (Kirigin 1990; Cambi *et al.* 2002; Cambi 2003; Dzino 2012, 74–75). The Adriatic islands were included within the Roman political sphere of interest and finally incorporated into the imperial administrative construct of Illyricum, ultimately becoming the province of Dalmatia in the first centuries BC/AD (Šašel Kos 2005, 249–472; Dzino 2010).

Not much is known about the spiritual life of the indigenous population on the islands prior to the Roman conquest. The special place of Greek divinities such as

Aphrodite, Zeus, Artemis and Dionysius is attested in inscriptions and coins on the island of Hvar, with the addition of a Roman-era relief presumably dedicated to Libera (Zaninović 1966, 20; Kirigin 2006, 133–137). The island of Brač provides evidence primarily for gods of the imperial era, such as Hercules, Jupiter, Mercury, Mithras, Asclepius, Magna Mater, Liber, Dionysius and the Nymphs (Demicheli 2010, 177). On the mainland, several Iron Age sites have been assumed to be sanctuaries, especially Gorica near Imotski and Mandina Gradina. In Gorica the deposits were placed in a building structure with several rooms, which may have been used as a temple, while Mandina Gradina was a hillfort used for sacral purposes. These sanctuaries consist of sacrificial gifts – mostly weapons (Gorica) and pottery (Mandina Gradina) – but there is no clear picture of the ritual and the divinities which might have been worshipped there. They certainly do not show that a divinity of forests and wilderness, similar to Silvanus, was worshipped there (Dzino 2012a, 267). Much more relevant for the central Adriatic islands is the recent discovery of the cave sanctuary in Spila Nakovana, on Pelješac peninsula, which is in close proximity to the islands of Korčula and Hvar. Archaeologists have discovered significant quantities of Greek/Hellenistic pottery surrounding a phallic-looking stalactite in the cave, dated between the fourth and first century BC through pottery (Forenbaher and Kaiser 2001; 2006).⁴

The cult of Silvanus in Dalmatia

The cult of Silvanus has the most extensive corpus of evidence preserved in Roman Dalmatia. There are more than 160 known inscriptions and images dedicated to Silvanus (Perinić 2017, 69–94).⁵ The dedicants, as elsewhere in the Empire (Dorcey 1992, 105–134), are people from the lower classes: freedmen and slaves (Matijašić and Tassaux 2000, 86–87). The largest group of dedicants, however, represents people with indigenous names who were not members of the indigenous elites of the imperial era. The distribution of evidence shows, with just a few exceptions, that Silvanus was worshipped in the region corresponding with the Iron Age Central Dalmatian cultural group, mentioned earlier. As said before, Silvanus in Dalmatia was visually represented differently to elsewhere in the Empire. He had attributes usually related to Pan, such as goat legs, horns, *syrinx* (pan-pipes), grapes (or generic fruits),⁶ *pedum* (hooked shepherd's staff),⁷ and was shown in the companionship of a goat.⁸ Some of the Dalmatian reliefs without Latin dedications cannot be clearly assigned to Silvanus, as the image presented can easily be ascribed to Pan (Dorcey 1992, 68–71). However, no dedication to Pan has yet been discovered in Dalmatia and there are quite a few reliefs with images of Silvanus depicted as Pan, which have preserved dedications to Silvanus (CIL 3.1960; 8306; 8343; 9754; 12790; 13187; 14322²; ILJug 155 (=1640); 261; 1592). The cult of Pan and the Nymphs was not unknown in the southeastern Adriatic. There are references to the temples at Apollonia (Strab. 7.5.8; Dio Cass. 41.45; Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115F316 *apud* HN 2.237); HN 3.145, location: Koch 1989, 222–225; Anamali 1991, 134–135; Cabanes *et al.* 1999, 571) and Lissus, in modern-day Albania (Caes. *BCiv.* 3.26; HN 3.144). In addition, goats frequently appeared on the coinage of the Greek settlements in

the Central Adriatic such as Pharos and Issa. While not directly proving the worship of Pan in Pharos and Issa, the coinage at least implies the significance of the goat as a symbol for those communities (Dzino 2012a, 265–266).

Dalmatian Silvanus is sometimes represented alone, but he is also frequently coupled with female attendants ('Nymphs') and a female divinity with the attributes of Diana (Perinić 2017, 86–93). There are two basic models used for the visual representation of Silvanus, usually referred to as 'Pan-Silvanus' and 'Youthful' Silvanus. 'Pan-Silvanus' is found mainly in the coastal regions and 'Youthful' Silvanus in the hinterland and in Liburnia around modern Zadar (Raknić 1965; Rendić-Miočević 1989, 469, 475–476, 481). Nevertheless, the finds from the last two decades show that geographic division is not as clear as it has been in the past, although 'Pan-Silvanus' still dominates coastal regions and the 'Youthful' Silvanus appears more frequently in the hinterland (Perinić 2017, 20). Lulić (2014, 38) recently proposed a different classification which is based on a series of regional clusters. The first cluster dominates the coastal areas in and around Salona, depicting Pan-Silvanus alone, turned to the front, often in a cave, with a number of attributes including, most often, a goat. The other cluster is linked with Rider (modern Danilo near Šibenik), probably a centre of peregrine *civitas Delmatarum* where Silvanus is shown in movement, often bearded and with crossed legs. In the hinterland Silvanus is frequently depicted in the company of the 'Nymphs' (the hinterland of Salona) or 'Diana' (the region of Glamoč). The epithets of the god roughly follow this division – *augustus* for Salona, *silvestris* in Rider and the hinterland, with the sporadic appearance of *domesticus*.

Although there are undoubtedly traces of patterns in the clusters suggested by Lulić, this classification must be taken with great caution as there are too many exceptions to the rule. E.g. rather than alone, Silvanus is depicted with nymphs in the Salona-Split area in quite a few places: Kaštel Novi (Arch. Museum Split Inv. no. D9; Perinić 2017, 87–88); Rendić-Miočević 1989, 531–538; Kaštel Novi (Bilich 1992); Podstrana-Split (CIL III.8520); Solin (Maršić 1993/94, 110–115, pic. 2); Solin (Arch. Museum Split Inv. no. D100; Rendić-Miočević 2007a, 38–39 pic. 7); Lučac-Split (Maršić 1997, 123–124).

The images and dedications to Silvanus in Dalmatia are dated roughly between the first and fourth century, with a majority dated between the second and third century (Cambi 2002, 123; Wilkes 2009, 43).⁹ The images of Silvanus from Diocletian's palace (Cambi 2013b, 82–83), or the relief from Putovići Ograja near Zenica (Perinić 2015, 223–25) show that the cult lasted into 4th century. The most numerous sanctuaries were built in natural environments, outside inhabited areas, and are characterised by either rock-cut reliefs or, more frequently, dedicatory altars. Cave sanctuaries are unique to the Dalmatian worship of Silvanus and can be recognised on some reliefs, depicting low ceilings and no vegetation (Rendić-Miočević 1982, figs. 1–2; 1989, Pl. 80, 85/1; 2003, fig. 12). The cave in Močići near Epidaurum (Cavtat) was suggested as one of those places as well (Rendić-Miočević 1989, 531–538) as Vilina Špilja in Rijeka Dubrovačka (Perkić 2010), and the cave Vodna Jama on the island of Brač, discussed below, was most certainly one such place.

The cult of Silvanus on the Central Adriatic Islands

Evidence for the worship of Silvanus on the Central Adriatic islands has been found, thus far, only on Hvar and Brač. There are three visual depictions from Hvar, but no inscriptions have been preserved (Perinić 2017, 77, 86 cat. III/16–17, 55). The relief of Silvanus and the Nymphs from the collection of the Dominican monastery in Stari Grad¹⁰ was found in Dol, three kilometres east from Pharos, probably on the site of a *villa rustica*. It was carved in shallow relief on a limestone slab and is now partly damaged. There are three figures depicted in a stylised fashion. Silvanus is sitting next to a goat and on his *pedum* hangs a *syrinx*; he holds grapes in his hand, and wears an animal skin (*nebrys*). His legs have not survived, but it is very likely that he was depicted as *aegipanus* – with goat legs. Silvanus is accompanied by two nymphs, and it is very likely that there was also a third. The nymphs have very curly hair tied in *krobylos* style (with knots at the top of the head); the nymph next to Silvanus has one knot and the other one three. The relief is dated by Zaninović (1966, 15–17) to the second or third century AD. The figure of Silvanus resembles another figure on a relief from Tomislavgrad (Patsch 1909, 117 fig. 8); this one also holds grapes and has a *syrinx* hanging on the *pedum*. There are a few other examples of Silvanus holding grapes, mostly from Salona and its surroundings (Rendić-Miočević 2007a).

A further example was found in the locality of Ježe, near the village of Svirče, at the site of a *villa rustica*, some three kilometres east from Dol where the relief of Silvanus and the nymphs was found. It is a fragment of a limestone relief showing only the head of a bearded and horned older male with a tree branch on his right side (Duboković-Nadalini 1963; Zaninović 1966, 17–18). Unfortunately, there is nothing else which could directly confirm this as iconography of Silvanus and it is theoretically possible that this was the head of Pan; however, as there is no direct evidence for the worship of Pan in the Central Adriatic, the only reasonable guess would be to follow the original conclusion of Zaninović and assume that this is, after all, the head of Silvanus represented as ‘Pan-Silvanus’. Finally, there is heavily damaged Silvanus from Stari Grad, standing on an altar. In his left hand is a tree, and in his right hand probably a *syrinx* (Perinić 2017, 77).

On the island of Brač there are three finds which can be related to the cult of Silvanus. The first example is a part of a column, showing a goat and a hand holding a *syrinx* (Fig. 34). It was found in Bunje, the micro-locality of Lokva, on a pile of rubble (Fisković 1940, 24; Vrsalović 1960, 82–83; Stančić *et al.* 1999, 111, site no. BO169.02; Jelinčić 2005, 126–127). This location, on the eastern part of the island, shows continuing habitation from the late Hellenistic era to late antiquity; the column was found at a place where a *villa rustica* stood in Roman times (Zaninović 1968, 358–359, 366; Jelinčić 2005; Jelinčić Vučković 2013). Cambi (2004, 247) is of the opinion that the goat cannot be automatically attributed to Silvanus without other elements as it could have also been, for example, a companion of Dionysius. Yet the hand holding the *syrinx* should be sufficient evidence to attribute this relief to Silvanus. Another example was found in Nerežiško polje near Nerežišća, in the western-central part of



Fig. 34: *Silvanus from Ježe, the island of Brač* (Photo: Kristina Jelinčić Vučković, published in Jelinčić 2005).

the island. There is a fragment of an altar which preserves parts of hairy goat legs. At the same location a fragment of another relief depicting the Nymphs has been discovered (Fisković 1940, 24; Vrsalović 1960, 82–83; Cambi 2004, 247–248; Demicheli 2010, 177). Unfortunately, these finds also appear to be lost today.

A fragment containing the representation of two nymphs has recently been discovered together with an inscription from Vodna Jama cave, located between Supetar and Donji Humac, a few kilometres north of Nerežišća (Fig. 35) (Demicheli 2010). It was another accidental find, occurring when the property owner was clearing the entrance of a small cave which was known to contain a permanent spring of fresh water. Unfortunately, very little material was left in the layer where the inscription was found, apart from prehistoric, Hellenistic and late antique

pottery. Iron Age and Hellenistic pottery was found inside the cave (Skelac and Kulenović 2008). The locality of St. Ilija west of Donji Humac was inhabited in antiquity and possessed the Roman cemetery with mausoleum, which might have also been used as a temple (Bulić 1904, 172–173; Fisković 1940, 23; Vrsalović 1960, 77–78, 80; Stančić *et al.* 1999, 154, site no. SP31.00; Cambi 2004, 266–267; Gjurašin 2007, 74–75).¹¹ There is one more inscription on the island which mentions the Nymphs, dedicated by a centurion from *I cohors Belgarum* in Škrip, which was the island's principal Roman settlement (CIL 3.3096; Stančić *et al.* 1999, 132, site no. OM4.36).

The inscription from Vodna Jama *Niffis et Si[---]* in Demicheli's reading should be read *Ni(m)f{f}is et Si[lvano sacr(um)?] [-----] [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)?]*. The inscription is quite peculiar as it does not only drop the Greek *ph* but also drops the letter *m* from *Nymphis*. Whilst the dropping of *ph* and *m* or *n* in front of a vocal is not unusual in Latin inscriptions from Roman Dalmatia, the double *f* is very unusual. Demicheli (2010, 179–180) considers double *f* to be either an error or, more likely, the abbreviation for *Ni(m)f(is) f(ontan)is*. Only two heads of nymphs are preserved; they are carved pretty realistically in more details from the right side, so on the left side they are missing ears. Their hair is wavy with *krobylos* on the top of the heads. Demicheli (2010, 181–182) dates the fragment stylistically, on account of the visual representation of the Nymphs, to the mid-second century.



Fig. 35: The inscription from Vodna Jama, the island of Brač (Photo: Dino Demicheli, published in Demicheli 2010).

Discussion

Although our evidence comes from very fragmentary inscriptions and reliefs, these examples from the islands of Hvar and Brač still provide enough information for a discussion. The general representation of Silvanus as Pan, and Silvanus with the Nymphs occurs frequently in Dalmatia; in this respect, the examples from the islands Hvar and Brač are no different from the mainland. The significance of the cave and goat in the cult also has parallels on the mainland. It is important to stress, however, that the goat can be further connected with these islands, as we see from the coinage, and a brief notice from Pliny the Younger, who wrote that the island of Brač is ‘famous by the goats’ (*HN* 3.152). It is impossible to recover the original context from which Pliny took this information, but the notice is interesting in the light of present discussion. On all levels of analysis, connectivity seems to be much stronger than insularity. These islands were undoubtedly connected with the Dalmatian mainland and shared common ways in which Silvanus was represented. Yet this was not the connectivity suggested by Zaninović (1966, 18), who saw it as evidence of cultural unity between the indigenous population on the islands and the mainland, who were ‘resisting’ the Romans. As mentioned earlier, there is not enough evidence to view Silvanus as a ‘masked’ native divinity. He was, even less, an Italic god worshipped by the local population. So, how are we to interpret this connectivity?

Recent scholarship has reconsidered the position of cultural contact between indigenous populations and the Roman Empire.¹² Although interpretations differ in details and substance, they all agree that the outcomes of this cultural contact cannot be seen as either acceptance of the Roman way of life, or resistance to it (Zanker 1988; Galinsky 1996; Woolf 1997; 2001; Mattingly 1997; 2004; 2011; Ando 2000, 19–48; Laurence 2001; Hingley 2005; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Morley 2010, 102–127; Mladenovic 2012; Kouremenos forthcoming). Rather, the diverse outcomes of cultural contact, taken as a whole, created a new imperial culture. There was a framework for the creation of imperial culture the Roman imperial discourse articulated in the Augustan era but local communities were free to unpack and negotiate elements of that package, opposing and embracing it at the same time – as long as no one challenged the imperial control. This is not to say that the Empire created equality between the metropole and the periphery. Rather, we can say that it established new imperial networks of power, potentially inclusive of local elites and the local population. Different experiences of Roman imperialism were also shaping the ways different communities negotiated their Roman identity. The creation of the Roman empire and the articulation of imperial discourse presents the last stage in a complex process of Mediterranean ‘globalisation’ starting in the early Iron Age (Morris 2005; Hodos 2009), which transformed the Mediterranean into an intertwined super-network, the likes of which had never been seen before (Hingley 2005; Hitchner 2008; Pitts 2008; Sommer 2013; Versluys 2014; Pitts and Versluys 2014). Those networks were one of the most important tools for dispersion of global practices on individual level, as individual needed to adopt these in order to function in normal social interaction (Morley 2010, 125–127).

Religion could not escape such a significant process of cultural exchange, triggered by increased connectivity and contact. Strategies of recognition, reinvention and integration between different Graeco-Roman and indigenous divinities are usually not viewed any more within the paradigms of Romanisation, resistance or syncretism. They also belonged to the all-encompassing process of the creation of a new imperial culture, producing entirely new forms from the existing local and global-imperial templates (Webster 1997; Ando 2005; Haeussler 2007; Van Andringa 2007). The paradigm of cognitive theory of religion presents an insightful explanatory framework for understanding the process. According to it, religion (especially images and rituals) is created by the human mind, which ascribes causality and intentional agency to random events and also anthropomorphise its environment (Boyer 1994; 2000; Guthrie 1993; cf. Lulić 2014, 43–45). Anthropomorphism and causality create depositories of knowledge discursively related to a supernatural concept. Thus, religion can be seen as a cultural phenomenon continuously negotiated by individuals and communities who used the existing depositories of knowledge on the supernatural in order to develop religious concepts. The exponential increase of connectivity in the Mediterranean resulting from the formation of the Roman Empire caused social networks to grow and multiply. This resulted in the creation and dispersion of new religious concepts from

existing depositories of local knowledge on the supernatural and earlier developed concepts of 'Roman', 'Greek' or 'Oriental' gods.¹³

As noted earlier, Dalmatian Silvanus represents the peak of complex cultural negotiation. While we cannot claim that the indigenous population in central Dalmatia (either on the islands or the mainland) possessed an articulated common identity and, even less, an articulated religion, it did share some elements of cultural habitus. An important element of this shared cultural habitus was reverence for caves and goats, although both caves and goats must have had different meanings in local settings. The descendants of the Greek settlers from the fourth century BC and indigenous populations did not live isolated from one another, neither on the islands nor on the coast. They needed to find common symbols and concepts as cultural interchanges in order to communicate more successfully. One such cultural interchange must have been Pan, which, to use the cognitive approach to religion, enabled the locals to conceptualise and anthropomorphise their reverence for caves and goats. Silvanus represents the second stage in that negotiation, this time within the framework of imperial networks established through the settlement of Italians and other immigrants in blossoming new provincial centres such as Salona. This was not a linear process from indigenous beliefs to Pan and then Silvanus, but rather an active engagement of all three components resulting in what we can see as its outcome in the second and third century.

In this respect the inhabitants of the central Adriatic islands are shown to be active participants in the process of cultural interaction. Evidence for the cult of Silvanus reveals a high degree of connectivity with the globalised imperial world on several levels: local, regional and global. On a local level they conceptualised and reinvented the existing sacred places, such as Vodna jama, which became a place sacred to Silvanus and the Nymphs. These places became related to globally recognised symbols, yet their significance within the paradigms of 'local knowledge' must have been maintained (Geertz 1983). Even more significant is the regional level. Dalmatian Silvanus could not be established as a trans-local religious concept without an increased level of contact and connectivity between networked local communities which was a direct outcome of the inclusion of this region within imperial networks. Connectivity enabled these communities to participate in the creation of common images and symbols, such as Silvanus, as a way to communicate with the developing imperial culture, which develops a language of symbols as a way of communication (Hölscher 2004). The creation of these symbols was an effort of networked imperial communities, which I would even dare to loosely compare with the intellectual effort of nineteenth century western intellectuals who were producing nations as 'imagined communities' – a well-known term used by Anderson (1991). The Romans were certainly not a nation in any modern sense, nor was Romanness constructed through textual communities and spread down to the masses through a printing press. Romanness was the community of people who shared Roman citizenship, as Aelius Aristides defines it from his personal and social standpoint (*Or.* 26.59–63).¹⁴ However, they were part of an 'imagined community' in the essence of this term, according

to the way Anderson defines it as a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group (Anderson 1991, 5–7). And that ‘group’ included people from Britain to the Middle East who participated in the construction and maintenance of the same identity, even though, as Aristides points out, most of them ‘*have not yet seen this city (Rome)*’ (Or. 26.64). However, instead of emphasising and constructing sameness out of differences, as happened in the nineteenth century, central Dalmatian communities and other imperial communities were using differences to construct sameness. On the one hand they were negotiating and constructing Romanness a true imagined (imperial) community, which was a sum of all regional and social differences framed by the discourse on Empire. On the other hand, they were actively producing new provincial and regional cultures as multiple cultural interfaces for efficient communication between the imperial and local cultural templates. These cultural interfaces were social machines for, what contemporary research on globalisation calls, ‘production of locality’ – the process of creating and recreating the identities understood as local (Apparaduai 1996, 178–199; Hardt and Negri 2000, 45). The term usually used to describe this process is glocalisation, by which is implied the adaptation of global cultural templates, specifically to each locality or culture (Robertson 1995; Bauman 1998; Eoyang 2007).

The evidence shows little insularity for the cult of Silvanus on Brač and Hvar. This is not to say that there was no particular insular identity on each of these islands, or even a shared ‘islander’ identity, but it simply cannot be seen in the available material which reveals locality rather than insularity. The Silvanus images inside the *villa rustica* complexes on Hvar and Brač are very interesting, although it must be said that any conclusion is limited by the fact that we can only assume their original contexts. The positioning of the finds within the villa complexes (if we accept that these were the original contexts) contradicts the pattern of mainland finds of Silvanus’ images and dedications. They are most frequently (but not exclusively) found at places linked with wilderness and lack of ‘civilisation’ such as caves or cliffs usually positioned close to water springs. The only example, which is in agreement with mainland finds, is the dedication from Vodna jama at the exact spot of the unknown underground caves and water spring. Stylistically these finds are also different – the lost relief of Silvanus and the Nymphs from Dol shows very local visual aesthetics, while the other images indicate an inclination for more imperial visual aesthetics.

A short discussion on the cult of Silvanus on the Central Adriatic islands shows that in Roman times the islands were part of the central Dalmatian social networks, actively exchanging ideas and religious concepts with the mainland. There are still many questions unanswered – in particular how these Dalmatian social networks functioned and how these ideas were transmitted. They participated in the creation of provincial culture through the invention of common religious traditions, which enabled them to articulate local sets of beliefs and communicate them within the imperial system. In a way we can say that connectivity enabled them to ‘become Romans’; increased connectivity enabled them to transmit and exchange ideas

with other communities on the mainland in faster and more efficient ways. While connectivity was accelerated by the Greek settlement in the fourth century BC, it was the islands' inclusion within the imperial networks of the Roman empire which developed and produced trans-local cultural interchanges and concepts such as the cult of Silvanus.

As Versluys (2014) very recently pointed out, the paradigms of connectivity, networks and globalisation processes, together with research focusing on material culture, are opening new insights into the debate about the making of Roman imperial culture. The movement alters space and time through the transmission of ideas, affecting all segments of a society, its organisation and the ways of thinking. The Roman empire is a prime example of a political conglomerate, or rather a political concept, made of societies and individuals affected and transformed by movement and connectivity.¹⁵ The examples from the central Adriatic islands show the essence of this theoretical statement in practice. The cult of Silvanus in Dalmatia was successful because it enabled worshippers to be Roman, Dalmatian, central Dalmatian and local within their subcultural and social settings. It provided the perfect image, symbol and a concept to disguise cultural change and innovation as continuity and tradition. Being Roman was a complex feeling of belonging constructed as an intersection between an individual's membership in different imagined communities (imperial, provincial, regional, subcultural, social, religious), negotiated in different local circumstances and architectures of power.

Notes

- 1 The best archaeological survey of the central Adriatic islands can be found in Gaffney *et al.* 1997 (Hvar); Stančić *et al.* 1999 (Brač); Gaffney *et al.* 2002; Kirigin *et al.* 2006 (Vis, Biševo, Svetac, Palagruža and Šolta). See also Kirigin *et al.* 2009 on Greek long-distance navigation through the Adriatic via Vela Palagruža.
- 2 Lulić relies on a cognitive approach to religion which is best presented in works such as Guthrie 1993; Boyer 1994; Barrett 2000; Anderson 2001. See also Renfrew and Scarre 1998 for cognitive archaeology. See also well-argued criticism of Lulić in Perinić 2017, 9.
- 3 See also Kirigin (2006, 8–28) for indigenous culture on the island of Hvar.
- 4 In addition, it is important to mention the cult of Diomedes in the Adriatic, which was also present on Vela Palagruža island. See Kirigin *et al.* 2009. For the literature on the cult of Diomedes in the Adriatic see Dzino 2012b, 75 no. 28.
- 5 The best up to date survey of Silvanus in Dalmatia and Pannonia with complete catalogue of inscriptions and images was recently published by Perinić 2017.
- 6 Some scholars view grapes as a symbol of Silvanus' connections with Liber, as in a few inscriptions these divinities were connected directly; see Rendić-Miočević 2007a; Matijević and Kurilić 2011, 154–55.
- 7 There are only five images of Silvanus with *pedum* outside Dalmatia; Dorsey 1992, 41, no. 35.
- 8 The goat was known to be the only animal companion of Pan; see Borgeaud 1988, 66–69.
- 9 Milošević (2013, 77–85) presents a very interesting argument on the basis of stylistic analysis that some images of Dalmatian Silvanus should actually be dated to late antiquity.
- 10 Rendić-Miočević 2007a, 37 states that this relief today cannot be found and is therefore considered as lost.

- 11 The 'mausoleum' might have been a Hellenistic *heroon*, as suggested by Cambi 2013, 58–62.
- 12 This 'recent scholarship' started as a 'textual community' of Roman archaeologists working in the UK and the Netherlands, (Versluys 2014, 4–6; Woolf 2014, 49), but, contrary to the scepticism of both Versluys and Woolf, it is fast expanding in broader discourse, which is not exclusively Anglo-Dutch (Hingley 2014, 21).
- 13 Recent uses of network theory to explain the spread of religious ideas in the Mediterranean and the Roman Empire seem promising; see, for example, Collar 2013.
- 14 As Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 450–453) argued, Augustan transformation of Roman citizenship into a form of social dignity, which needs to be expressed through symbols, becomes a basic block in the development of Imperial cultural identity.
- 15 See Moatti 2006 who examines translation, migration and communication as three aspects of movement in the Roman Empire.

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Chapter 7

Tracing Identity from Insularity: Maltese Industries in the Late Punic and Roman Period

Maxine Anastasi

Identity often goes hand in hand with industry. If successful, the manufacture of quality products that were desired and exported abroad shaped the perceptions of outsiders towards the producers, as well as instilled a sense of pride and form of affiliation-based identity in the producers themselves. Much like the modern analogy of the European stamp of 'Protected Designation of Origin' (P. D. O.) on particular agricultural products (i.e. Parmigiano-Reggiano produced in particular provinces in Italy; or the region of Champagne known for its production of sparkling wine), a combination of textual and archaeological sources have shown that communities in the ancient world also capitalised on the reputation of their famous products. A well-known example is the prestige and fame attached to the production of Falernian wine using grapes from several appellations on the slopes of Mount Falernus between Latium and Campania. Ancient sources, bar graffiti, and associated wine amphorae produced in the region (Dressel 1 and Dressel 2–4 types) are a testament to the widespread reputation that this industry gained (Arthur 1982). Obviously, Falernian wine is quite a unique example, but many other local industries managed to gain some foot-hold in these niche industries. Similar accolades are showered on some wine-producing cities and regions in Italy, Sicily, Crete and elsewhere (see also Kouremenos in this volume).

Identifying the industries of a small island thus helps better understand what potential identities were shaped by the local inhabitants. Fortunately for the Maltese islands several ancient sources refer to a textile industry, which although remains practically invisible in the archaeological record, is considered to be the primary export industry for the islands at least in the early Roman period (Fig. 36). Archaeological evidence has shown that small islands like Lipari and Pantelleria did manage to generate an export economy for themselves by adapting to a niche market in unique products. For instance, from the 1st century AD the small volcanic island of Pantelleria produced and exported a significant amount of cooking wares to the entire western Mediterranean basin (Peacock 1984, 8–10; Santoro Bianchi



Fig. 36: Map of the central Mediterranean and the Maltese islands showing the places mentioned in the text (Photo: author).

2003). The distribution of Liparian-made amphorae have now shown that the island maintained a significant trade in alum throughout the Mediterranean, in particular in northern Europe (Borgard 2005, 162). Unlike Pantelleria, the extraction of alum from Liparian mines is recorded in the ancient sources (Strabo, *Geography* 6.2), but no

literary mention of the cooking ware industry and trade for ancient Cossyra was ever mentioned. Therefore, it is highly probable that the Maltese islands also manufactured a product that was traded quite extensively and was thus consequently known about elsewhere. Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence for this textile production and trade is non-existent. A recognised industry and export in anything other than textiles is not recorded in the ancient literature but there is some indication in the archaeological remains that suggest that several other small local industries existed, although, not all were particularly successful. Very rarely did a community rely on just a single form of industry. As Horden and Purcell have eloquently demonstrated, there is increasing evidence for a general economy based on several forms of agriculture, resource-exploitation and craft industry. This suggests that many ancient societies throughout the Mediterranean grew accustomed to practising agricultural polyculture as well as taking advantage of other economically viable ventures to ensure minimum loss in the event of drought, crop failure, or political unrest (Horden and Purcell 2000).

As textual sources are scant for an export trade other than textiles (where the opposite is the case), the rest of this paper will explore what archaeological evidence is available for Maltese exports in the Mediterranean. Textiles were most probably one of the islands' major exports, however, we can never truly identify this production and distribution archaeologically. There are only a finite number of references available to us from the ancient sources and this only assists in making known the production and potential scale of its trade. Instead, one of the best proxies for tracing ancient contact is by looking at the pottery. First, a review of the only known physical evidence for Maltese exports (two types of ceramic storage containers) is presented and the possible contents they carried (wine and olive oil) are discussed. Secondly, a look at new ceramic evidence from Malta shows that a significant local pottery industry existed, which manufactured a series of fine wares used exclusively for local consumption.

Textiles

Possibly one of the most important details featured within the writings of several ancient authors, in particular Cicero in c. 70 BC, are the references to an industry for the production and export of luxury textiles (Cicero *In Verrem* 2.2.176; 183; 4.38–41; 103–104; 5.27; Diodorus Siculus 5.12.1–4; Bruno 2009, 224). This knowledge of an ancient textile industry is only known to us through textual sources as nothing related to textile production, other than a few bone needles and loom weights, has been identified archaeologically (Bonanno 2005, 146, 241). The reference made by Cicero to the smuggling of Maltese textiles out of Syracuse by Verres attests to a significant economic factor whereby Maltese-made fabrics were potentially redistributed from an eastern Sicilian port (Cicero *In Verrem* 2.2.176). Unfortunately, due to the degradable nature of textiles it is near impossible to trace this distribution in the archaeological record. Like many other cities, international renown was generally based on a place's

primary significant export – in the case of ancient Melita this was clearly textile production. Palaeo-environmental evidence from core samples taken in the Marsa area in Malta indicates evidence for the cultivation of flax for the production of linen during the Punic/Roman period, although not enough to warrant the claim for widespread manufacture as has been inferred from the ancient sources (Fenech 2007, 110). It has been suggested that the restricted cultivation of the crop may have been a rational ploy to ensure the relative exclusivity of the cloth (Fenech 2007, 110). The cultivation of cotton can only be traced back as far as the Arab occupation on the islands (Busuttil 1966; Wettinger 1982, 29–30; Dalli 2006, 158). Alternatively, the likelihood of wool being the primary raw material for these textiles is suggested by the ample land – degraded forested areas known as *garigue* or steppe landscapes – suited to rearing sheep as well as the evidence for goat/sheep remains recovered from the recent University of Malta excavations at the sanctuary of Tas-Silġ (Corrado 2000).

Local industries?

The Maltese islands may be (and in some cases, most certainly have been) viewed as insular or ‘back-water’ due to the evident lack of Maltese exports identified outside of the islands (Atauz 2004; 2008). Atauz’s primary argument, where she concludes that the islands were not a strategic and well-integrated part of the central Mediterranean during the Late Punic and Roman period (as well as most of their history), is primarily based on the fact that she identified very little wreck data in Maltese waters. For the Late Punic and Roman periods at least, Atauz’s view is somewhat unfounded and greatly exaggerated, although there remains the problem of a dearth of physical evidence for Maltese interaction with other Roman cities close by (Gambin 2009, 90; Azzopardi 2013, 286).

Tracing and identifying these sea connections can essentially only be done by looking at the distribution of common archaeological objects that accumulated over a significant period of time. Texts, although instrumental in piecing together the intricacies of ancient trade routes, are only really applicable for small time-slices in history, and only coupled with archaeological evidence (or in the unlikely scenario that similar texts are available that detail particular regional aspects of trade for multiple time periods) can we extend the information derived from texts to paint a more detailed and complete picture of how connected the Mediterranean actually was.

When attempting to plot the distribution of Maltese material culture, we are faced with some fundamental problems. Apart from a few locally minted coins that date to the Late Republican period, little else of Maltese production can be traced beyond Maltese shores. In her amphora study, Bruno did manage to isolate two Roman amphora forms, which she surmised were most probably Maltese-made; however, to date, no example has been identified outside Malta or Gozo (Bruno 2009, 101–107). The reasons for this are probably three-fold. Firstly, the morphology of these amphorae types is typologically similar to North African and Southern Italian early Roman forms,

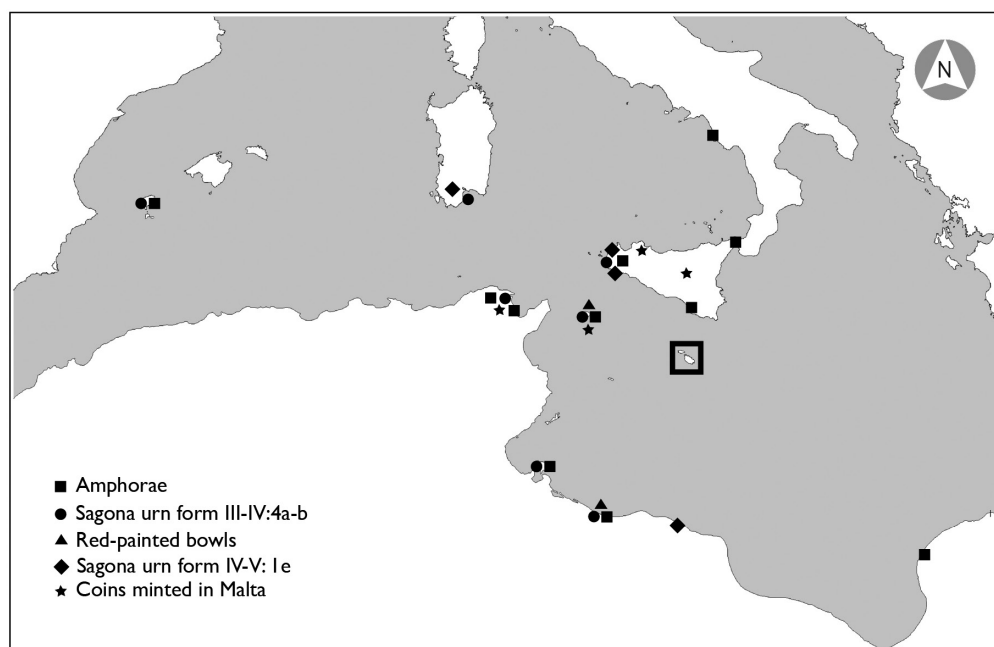


Fig. 37: The distribution of Maltese pottery and coins in the central Mediterranean (Photo: author).

making it difficult for archaeologists to tell the two types apart, especially since few ceramic specialists are familiar with generic Maltese fabrics; secondly, relative to the rest of Mediterranean-wide production, it is safe to say that Maltese amphora-borne exports made up a tiny fraction of the volume of goods being transported across the Roman empire. If only a further fraction of these traded Maltese containers survived in the archaeological record, the chances of uncovering and identifying these fragments are very small indeed. Lastly, and quite probably, these amphorae were just not exported beyond the Maltese shores. Potential export of these amphora types may be explained with the discovery of a shipwreck carrying several of these types off the coast of Xlendi bay in Gozo (Azzopardi 2006; 2013). Although it is possible that this cargo may have been destined for cities further afield, the proximity of the wreck to the island's coast and the complete lack of identified examples abroad strongly implies a domestic circulation of local amphora-borne commodities travelling between Malta and Gozo (Bruno 2009, 101–112).

Evidence for local production and subsequent export of Maltese goods is more apparent in the Punic period (Fig. 37). Punic-period amphorae and storage jars believed to be locally manufactured have been traced to several Punic and western Greek cities throughout the central Mediterranean (Ciasca 1985). Problems with the dating of many of the finds, both locally and in their foreign context, make it difficult to determine a precise period for Maltese exportation, although the style and form of these containers belong to the Punic tradition. In her brief article, the isolated finds

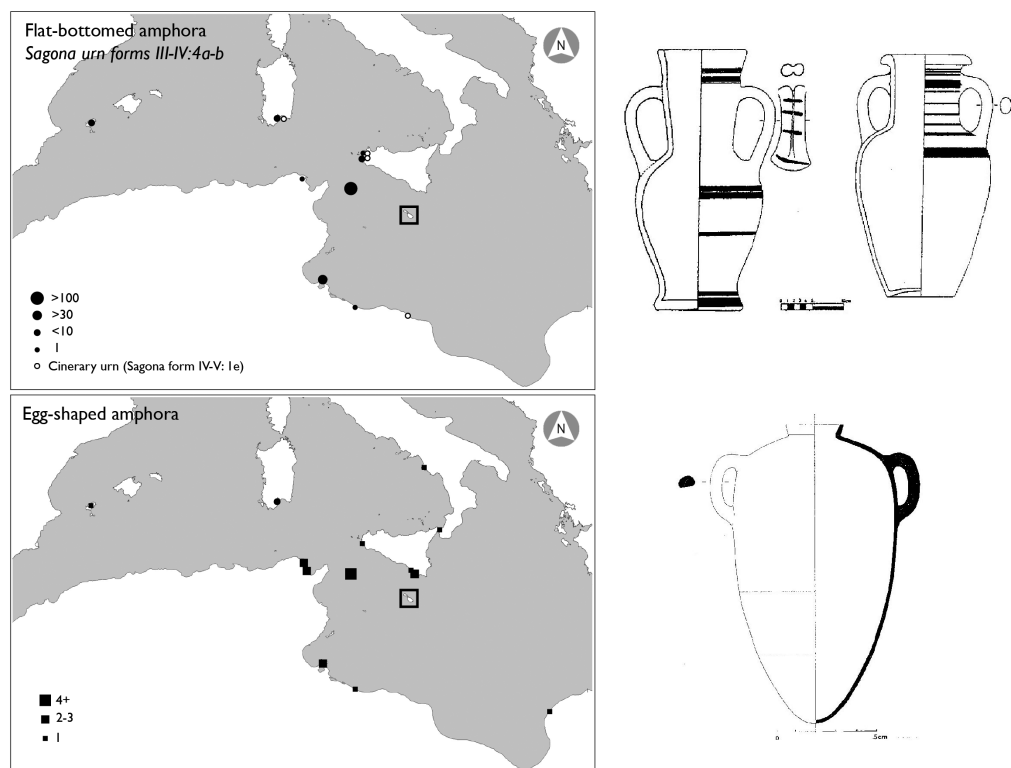


Fig. 38: Quantitative distribution of Maltese amphorae in the Mediterranean (pottery image sources: (top) Quercia 2005–2006, fig. 9; (bottom) Ciasca 1985, fig. 1; maps: author).

Ciasca identified (mostly single finds) led her to argue that there was no organised trade of Maltese vessels; rather the odd container found its way to foreign shores as occasional goods belonging to small Maltese communities living abroad (Ciasca 1985, 22–23).

The typical Maltese amphora of the Punic period is egg-shaped with no neck and has a beaded or collared opening (see the general form typology in Sagona 2002, 87–93; and Ramon 1995, 183, fig. 33, form T-3.2.1.2). Two round handles are attached to the widest part of the shoulder/body (Fig. 38). These amphorae are very common on the islands and are believed to be local because of their dense local distribution, the composition of their fabric, and more specifically, the discovery of severely deformed examples within tomb contexts (Bruno 2009, 100), although to date no kiln sites linked to this production have been identified on either island. A wreck carrying ‘thousands’ of Maltese Punic amphorae, the majority of type T-3.2.1.2 (group 4), dating to the 3rd century BC has been identified off the coast of Xlendi, Gozo, and is the largest Maltese cargo known to date (Azzopardi 2013, 292–293). Such a large cargo supports the possibility that these containers were destined for foreign markets. The period of production for this type, however, is broad and variants of the form were

being manufactured from as early as the 7th/6th century BC until at least the first half of the 1st century AD (Sagona 2002, 93). Due to the lack of securely dated Late Punic and early Roman stratigraphic excavations, it remains difficult to ascertain a more precise chronological typology for this form of amphora. The difficulty in being able to identify residual and contemporary fragments in recent excavations – purely because residuality is very common on all Maltese sites due to the shallow soil depths and common re-utilisation of space – further hinders a more detailed study of this form (Caroll *et al.* 2012, 25). Fortunately, several more exported examples of this amphora form have come to light since Ciasca's seminal article on Maltese Punic exports (Ciasca 1985; see Tab. 1).

A second form is a slender table amphora characterised by a wide fusiform body upon a flared, wide and flat base. Two handles, either round or double-cordon in section, are attached to the rim and body. The surface is typically cream-slipped and decorated with red-painted bands along the rim, handles, body and base. It is the distinct surface treatment that makes fragments of this vessel easily recognizable in foreign contexts. A wide range of rim types and body/handle combinations have been recorded; however, a formal in-depth study and classification of this particular table amphora remains to be undertaken (Fig. 38). Like the previous amphora form, this flat-bottomed type also has a wide chronology making it difficult to narrow down distribution patterns through time. Fortunately, many more examples of this exported form have come to light in recent years. Over one hundred examples have been discovered on Pantelleria from contexts dating to the beginning of the 2nd century BC (Töpfer 2013, 529). A smaller, yet substantial, group of Maltese fragments was also recorded in an assemblage from Ghizène, Jerba, and has been dated according to the style to the 4th century BC (Ben Tahar 2014, 90, fig. 22). Single sherds or a handful of examples have also been identified in Sicily, Carthage, Utica, Sabratha, Leptis Magna, Berenice and Ibiza (see Tab. 1 for references). The distributions of these finds have been plotted in Figures 37 and 38.

Aside from the Pantellerian examples, none of the sherds can be securely dated based on their context as many of the published examples could be residual. This uncertainty of this type's chronology is due to the lack of well-excavated primary Maltese contexts where these types are associated with well-dated Late Republican forms. The assemblage uncovered during the recent excavations at Bulebel, Malta, contained several local variants of this form in contexts dating to the early to mid-1st century AD and the number of vessels (at least five) within this small context suggest that this form did continue to be produced well into the early 1st century. The inclusion of black glauconite tempering in local Maltese fabrics is a Late Republican trait that becomes increasingly common on the islands from about the late 2nd/1st century BC and dominates Roman assemblages in Gozo and at least half of the vessels in Malta during the early Roman period. This fabric was used for four of the five examples at Bulebel, and it is possibly also the same type of fabric used for some of the Pantellerian examples (for instance, Töpfer 2013, 529, Kat. 4), which would add further weight

Table 1: List of Maltese Punic and early Roman pottery found outside Maltese shores

Location	Vessel type	Qty	Date	Reference/s
Camarina (Sicily)	amphora	1	6th century BC	Pelagatti 1976–7, 525, tav. LXXVII: 7–9; Sourisseau 2013, 111–115; Schmidt and Bechtold 2013, 2–3.
Gela (Sicily)	amphora	2?	Punic	Orsi 1907, col. 162, fig. 124, col. 193, fig. 150.
Lilybaeum (Sicily)	amphora	2	Punic	Bisi 1971, 689–690, fig. 18, 714, fig. 57; 1970, 256, fig. XXXIV.
Lilybaeum (Sicily)	Sagona urn form III-IV: 4	2	Punic	Bisi 1971, 734, fig. 71. [Motya museum collection]
Porticello wreck (Messina Straits, Sicily)	Amphorae	2	5th century BC	Jones Eiseaman 1973, 18, fig. 7, 18a.
Velia (S. Italy)	Ramón T-3.2.1.2 (amphora)	1?	3rd century BC	Gassner and Trapichler 2010, 167, fig. 112; Bechtold 2013, 467.
Cagliari (Sardinia)	Sagona urn form III-IV: 4	1	Punic	Ciasca 1985, 20.
Sardinia	Sagona urn form III-IV: 4	1?	Punic	Bartolini 1981, 5, fig. 1.
Pantelleria	Sagona amphora form I:1	6	675–525 BC?	Bechtold 2013, 466–467.
Pantelleria	Ramón T-3.2.1.2 (amphora)	1	250/240–200/190 BC	Bechtold 2013, 467.
Pantelleria	Sagona urn form III-IV: 4	c. 100+	mid-2nd century BC	Töpfer 2011; 2013, 528, cat. 1–3; Almonte 2005.
Pantelleria	bowl	8	Punic	Töpfer 2011; 2013, cat. 4–6; Almonte 2005, tav. IXA.
Carthage (Tunisia)	amphora	3?	4th century BC	Delattre 1904, 8, fig. 5; Merlin and Drappier 1909, fig. III: 3; Gauckler 1915, 137, fig. XCVIII.
Carthage (Tunisia)	oinochoe	1	Punic	Delattre 1906, 41–45, fig. 5.
Utica (Tunisia)	Sagona urn form III-IV: 4	1	Punic	Tunisian-British excavation at Utica (2012–2014)

Table 1

Location	Vessel type	Qty	Date	Reference/s
Utica (Tunisia)	Amphora?	1	Punic	Tunisian-British excavation at Utica (2012–2014)
Utica (Tunisia)	Amphora	1?	8th/7th century BC	Cintas 1951, 40–42, 72, fig. 33, tomb 16.
Ghizène (Djerba)	Sagona urn form III-IV: 4 and amphorae	34	Punic	Ben Tahar 2014, 90; Schmidt and Bechtold 2013, 2.
Ibiza (Balearic Islands)	amphora	1?	Punic	Ramon 1981, 14.
Ibiza (Balearic Islands)	Sagona urn form III-IV: 4	4	Punic	Ciasca 1985, 20; Rodero Riaza 1980, 37, fig. 3: 1–3, tav. 1.
Sabratha (Libya)	Sagona urn form III-IV: 4	1	second half of 1st century BC	Dore 1989, 245, fig. 69, type 398.43.
Sabratha (Libya)	bowl	3	Punic	Dore 1989, 209, fig. 56–57, type 257.
Sabratha (Libya)	amphora	c. 3	Punic	Dore 1989, 35–36, fig. 11: 180–193, type 10
Leptis Magna (Libya)	cinerary urn?	1	4th century BC	De Miro and Fiorentini 1977, 30–31, fig. 37, tav. XVI: 6.
Berenice (Libya)	amphora	1	Punic	Riley 1979, 143, D91, fig. 72: 91.

to the potential dating and continuation of these vessels well into the early Roman period. The problem remains, however, that the traditional dates assigned to any example matching any part of this general type relies solely on that established by Ciasca and Sagona, which are generally dated from the 4th to 3rd centuries BC (Ciasca 1985; Sagona 2002, 104). Context association is rarely taken into consideration, and when fragments are found in later-dated contexts, they are automatically considered residual Punic fragments. There is increasing evidence to suggest that these table amphorae were being produced later than originally thought, at least until the end of the 1st century BC, possibly into the first half of the 1st century AD.

Containers for what? Potential agricultural output and surplus

The archipelago comprises three main islands; Malta, Gozo and Comino. In total the land area does not exceed 312 km², the geology is limestone-based and the only fresh water comes from perched aquifers as no perennial rivers exist. None of the islands possess any mineral resources of any intrinsic worth except for the local limestone extracted for construction purposes. Fertile, cultivatable land exists but not in large quantities. Instead, the islands are dominated by large tracts of rocky, windswept steppe areas that are unsuitable for agriculture, but ideal for sheep and goat pasture as well as a source for thorns (*xewk*) which were used for fuel in the past (Wettinger 1982, 33).

A couple of attempts have been made to calculate the population of the islands in the Punic and Roman period. In his doctoral thesis, Said-Zammit attempted to calculate population size and settlement patterns for the islands based on the funerary data available (Said-Zammit 1997). The quality of the data used (the skeletal remains recovered from the rock-cut tombs scattered across the islands) and the sample size proved to contain too many inconsistencies to allow for any reliable figures (Said-Zammit 1997, 30, 36–42). Regardless, Said-Zammit calculated an upper estimate of 17,000 inhabitants. He further concluded that between 300 BC and AD 100, there is evidence that the general population increased (Said-Zammit 1997, 42).

In another thesis, Gambin calculated various estimates on potential population size, agricultural output for the cultivation of staple crops like wheat and olives, and the potential deficit or surplus in products that would essentially result in what staples needed to be supplemented from external sources and those that could be viable Maltese exports in exchange for imported supplies (Gambin 2005, 108–115). Interestingly, he concludes that the islands were incapable of supplying enough grain for the inhabitants of the Maltese islands and would thus have had to resort to imported sources to sustain them. In contrast, the potential yield for olive cultivation and the production of olive oil exceeded the necessary requirements for the inhabitants and would thus have generated oil in excess of the islands' needs allowing a significant surplus to be available for export, potentially in exchange for deficit staples like grain.

Archaeological evidence for oil production exists in the form of scores of rural farmsteads equipped with stone apparatus for milling and pressing olives (Bonanno

1977; Bruno 2009, 39–48). Pollen analysis also shows that olive cultivation has a long history on the islands, with pollen dating to as early as the Neolithic and Bronze Age and intensified during the Phoenician/Punic period (Fenech 2007, 98; Caroll *et al.* 2012, 34). It is during, and after, the 4th century BC that the rural landscapes around the Mediterranean witnessed a rise in farmsteads (van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008, 202), and in the case of Malta when some of the rural farmsteads are first constructed (Vella 2010, 462). Interestingly, the pollen analysis does show a decrease in the olive pollen count during the Roman period potentially signalling a decline in olive production (Fenech 2007, 98). The archaeological evidence seems to contradict this for now as there is clear evidence that rural olive-pressing farms, such as San Pawl Milqi and the Żejtun villa, were still occupied and undergoing further construction well into the Roman period (Locatelli 2008; Bonanno and Vella 2013).

No kilns or amphorae wasters have been found associated with any of these olive-producing sites. However, Maltese Punic and Roman amphorae are found in large quantities at these sites. The high proportion of imported wine amphorae and the low, sometimes negligible, number of imported oil containers does suggest that local oil was produced and stored in local amphorae (Bruno 2009, 172–180). There is, however, always the possibility that local oil was stored in different containers such as *dolia*. None of the local ‘oil’ amphorae contain any traces of pitch further implying that oil was the primary content.

With this in mind, the distribution of Punic amphorae would suggest that some local oil was being exported overseas as part of mixed cargoes as early as the 7th/6th-century BC (Jones Eiseman 1973) or possibly even earlier as one 8th-century BC amphora was recorded in a Phoenician tomb in Utica (Cintas 1951, 40–42, tomb 16; see Tab. 1). The evidence so far shows that sporadic and small cargoes of local oil were travelling to regional cities, often no more than a week’s sail from the islands (Scheidt and Meeks 2012). On the other hand, if the large 3rd-century BC cargo of local Punic amphorae, discovered off the coast of Xlendi, Gozo, was destined for foreign markets, then considerably more Maltese produce were potentially being disseminated overseas. The latest date we have for this distribution remains uncertain, even though their production certainly extended into the early Roman period if we go by the funerary data (Sagona 2002, 93) but more importantly, the Pantellerian evidence.

There is some evidence that suggests that the islands also produced wine and that this wine was possibly being stored in the latter local container (flat-bottomed amphora) and being exported in more concentrated numbers overseas. A recent re-evaluation of several rock-hewn shallow features that dot certain rocky parts of the Maltese countryside have been interpreted as wine presses (Bonanno 2008; Pace and Azzopardi 2008). The typology of these *palmenti* are akin to about 700 examples known in Ferruzzano, Calabria, as well as several other isolated examples in Sicily, Bulgaria and Israel (Bonanno 2008, 5–6). Aside from these possible presses, recent excavations at the Late Punic/Roman farmstead in Żejtun have revealed a series of deep and linear rock-cut features that are most probably vine trenches (Bonanno and

Vella 2014). Further analysis, however, remains to be done. A direct link between the wine processing and the flat-bottomed amphorae remains to be established; however, one vessel discovered off the coast of Xlendi Bay, Gozo, was found with a pitch lining suggesting that wine may have been carried in these containers (Azzopardi 2006, 45–48).

In summary, the evidence suggests that the Maltese islands were producing some wine and olive oil, possibly with enough surplus to export small quantities to neighbouring islands or coastal cities. The dating evidence suggests that olive oil was possibly being exported as early as the 7th/6th century BC as seen from the Punic amphorae found within the shipwreck off the coast of Messina (Jones Eiseaman 1973), and most certainly from the Late Punic period from the amphora evidence from Pantelleria. Wine was also being produced as seen from the Punic-period vine trenches at the Żejtun villa, the tens of rural wine-pressing installations around the Maltese countryside (Bonanno 2008), and the discovery of a pitch-lined Late Punic-style flat-based amphorae off the coast of Xlendi, suggesting that wine was being carried in such a container (Azzopardi 2006, 45–48). The dating evidence from Pantelleria suggests that these potential wine containers were being exported in significant numbers – at least to Pantelleria, and possibly Jerba – until at least the mid-2nd century BC. The diffusion of the number of these local forms spreading westwards and southwards from Pantelleria could suggest a trans-shipment zone or place of redistribution for the Maltese market.

Potentially, together with the export of textiles, the islands were probably able to afford enough imported grain in exchange for surplus olive oil and wine. Whether the grain was purchased as it arrived in Maltese harbours or when merchants travelled overseas with local goods is difficult to determine at this point, but grain ships travelling to Rome from Alexandria did sometimes stop off in Malta en route to their final destination from at least the second half of the 1st century AD (Acts 28; Arnaud 2007, 333). Whether grain was traded this way or through a variety of different exchange mechanisms also remains to be understood. What is clear is that certainly until the Late Punic period, a type of Maltese wine was being produced, some of which was probably stored in containers of Sagona urn type III–IV: 4 and was consumed overseas. The conclusion drawn by Ciasca needs to be revised in the light of the Pantellerian evidence as the quantity of vessels identified there suggests a more organised system of trade. It is unlikely that the Pantellerian assemblage belonged to a single shipment from Malta; instead, small, yet regular, consignments of Maltese wine were reaching Pantelleria as part of a larger cargo. It may still be possible, however, that these small, but regular shipments of Maltese containers still served a small but sizeable community of Maltese living in Pantelleria. As we have seen, the dating evidence for the production of these vessels covers a broad period and a more precise date is required for the end of its production. What is known, however, is whatever was being carried in these containers, appears to have ceased by the mid-2nd century BC, at least as demonstrated by the Pantellerian group. The

latest dates associated with the destruction of the vine trenches from the Żejtun villa also point towards a shift in cultivation choices from the vine to olive (Bonanno and Vella 2014; Anastasi 2013). The influx of imported wine amphorae into Malta from the 3rd century BC far outnumbered that of imported oil containers and may also indicate a change in agricultural practices on the islands. This scenario was noted both by Bruno for Tas-Silġ and San Pawl Milqi (Bruno 2009, 112–113), as well as by the author who is studying three small Roman-period assemblages from the Melita Esplanade excavations (1983–1984) in Rabat (Rabat), the Bulebel excavations (2012) near Żejtun and a possible pottery workshop site in Victoria, Gozo as part of an ongoing D.Phil. at the University of Oxford.

Maltese fine wares

Since the identification of locally produced ceramic products is scarce outside of Malta, I shall now turn to the types and relative quantities of imported ceramic products discovered so far in Maltese contexts. Curiously, the import of fine ware products has always been relatively restricted to the Maltese islands. Bruno first noted this whilst studying the amphorae from Tas-Silġ and San Pawl Milqi (Bruno 2009, 133). As if to replace this supposed dearth in table wares, the islands produced and used their own series of locally manufactured table wares throughout the Punic and Roman periods, despite their being ample evidence to suggest that imported fine wares were indeed able to enter the islands' shores.

During the Punic period Malta developed and produced a range of fine wares that imitated Greek and Hellenistic black-slipped pottery, but instead of a black slip, the surfaces of the forms were coated in a thick cream slip (Quercia 2011, 439). From about the middle of the 1st century BC, the use of red slips on local ceramics replaced this cream slip. Imported Campanian and southern Italian fine ware forms are rarely encountered on Maltese sites and one does wonder whether this was a response towards retaining a respectful tie to local manufacturing traditions. The trickling in of foreign wares, together with the vast amount of imported amphorae, which make up as much as two-thirds of the amount of amphorae assemblages on most sites, does indicate that the choice to import better quality table wares was available to the islanders, but a conscious decision to stem the influence of imports was maintained throughout the Punic and Roman period. Like the Maltese islands, imported black-slipped fine wares in farmsteads in Sardinia are also relatively infrequent during the Late Punic and early Roman period, implying some significance attached to the fine wares. However, the ubiquity of black-slipped pottery in general on most Greek sites suggests otherwise (Roppa and van Dommelen 2012, 63).

In the excavations conducted by the University of Malta at the Punic sanctuary of Tas-Silġ, what could be considered local 'fine wares' – smoothed, cream-slipped Greek imitations – make up almost the entire fine ware assemblage (see 'Thick-Slipped Crisp Ware' category, in Sagona 2015, 47–50). Only a handful of imported black-slipped

examples were amongst the finds (Sagona 2015, 84–88). The ratio of imported to local fine wares changes little in the Late Republican and early Imperial Roman periods. This stands in sharp contrast to the number of imported amphorae that were reaching Maltese shores: Up to 94.6% imported amphorae for the Late Republican period and 100% for the subsequent early Imperial period were recorded at Tas-Silġ (Bruno 2009, fig. 25). Whilst at San Pawl Milqi, the same study concluded that imported amphorae accounted for just under 60% of the amphorae assemblage (Bruno 2009, fig. 32). In contrast, both site assemblages contained only a tiny number of imported fine ware fragments, although no conclusive figures have yet been calculated for the fine wares assemblages at either site, it remains quite clear that very few imported fine wares found their way onto either site in all phases (Bruno 2009, 133). In addition, 74% of imported amphorae were recovered from a rural levelling dump at Bulebel, near Marsa in Malta, dating from the early-to-mid 1st century to the mid-2nd/early 3rd century AD. The remaining 26% of amphorae fragments were clearly locally manufactured as recognised from the fabrics. At this site, amphorae made up 13% of the entire ceramic group. Within the same assemblage, the opposite was noted for the fine wares. Fine wares made up 3.3% of the entire assemblage. Within this, only 27% were imported; the remaining 73% were local. Out of the entire assemblage – amphorae, cooking, fine, coarse wares and all –, imported fine wares only accounted for 0.87%, making them quite insignificant indeed. This figure also accounts for about three centuries of accumulation as the entire ceramic group contains quite a few fragments of residual pottery.

Recent analyses of three small-scale ceramic assemblages from Malta and Gozo have shown that imported fine wares increased in number after the mid-2nd century AD with the sudden influx of African Red Slip ware (ARS). Earlier common imported fine ware productions such as Campanian and southern Italian black-slipped vessels, Italian *terra sigillata* (ITS) and Eastern Red-Slipped wares (ESA) account for a fractional percentage, whilst in later-dated contexts, ARS accounts for as much as 31% of the fine wares in a mid-2nd to mid-3rd century AD context; within this group, 59% are local red-slipped wares. Only 1% (n=4) of all the fine ware fragments within the Bulebel and Melita assemblages were made up of ITS, and admittedly, two of these are probably residual. In any case, it is quite clear that ITS was certainly not a consistent import to the islands. Even on sites which have clear Late Republican/Augustan-period deposits, such as the sanctuary of Tas-Silġ, ITS still has no quantitative impact on the fine ware assemblage at all.

On neighbouring Pantelleria the situation is quite different. From a rural survey conducted between 2003 and 2008, no local pottery fragments deemed to be classed as local fine ware imitations were identified. Instead, 12% of the entire group of fine ware fragments collected were composed of ITS sherds, 35% belonged to ARS ware, and 49% were composed of a combination of various imported black-slipped pottery forms dating to the Late Punic/Hellenistic period—the combined number of fine ware fragments adds up to 7,110 sherds (see relevant sections in Almonte 2013). Similar figures were generated for the ratio of imported versus locally produced amphorae

for the island. Only one amphora rim is believed to have been manufactured on the island. The rest are all imported vessels (Bechtold 2013, 439, Tab. 13).

Similarly, on the island of Lipari, only a single fine ware fragment, believed to be locally produced, was recorded for the later Roman period (Malfitana and Franco 2008, tab. 9.1); instead, a significant number of ITS, and for the later Roman period, ARS fragments, were identified. However, a 3rd-century BC wreck off the coast of Filicudi contained a mixed cargo of Greco-Italic amphorae and black-slipped fine wares made using a clay thought to be from Lipari, indicating that the island was producing and exporting its own fine wares in the early Roman period (Castagnino Berlinghieri 2003, 89–90). In sharp contrast to both Pantelleria and the Maltese islands, Lipari was found to have over 90% of its early and mid-Roman amphorae assemblage dominated by locally produced amphorae, which have been linked to the island's export of alum (Malfitana and Franco 2013, 186–187, tab. 9.1; Borgard 2005).

Thus, there are few similarities between the import/local character of each island's fine ware and amphorae assemblage. A brief look at the cooking ware assemblages for each island illustrates further differences in niche ceramic industries. Pantellerian cooking ware is widely exported from the mid-1st century BC throughout North Africa, especially Tripolitania, and then spreads to most major coastal cities by the end of the 1st century AD. This long-lived island production reached its peak by the 4th–5th centuries AD (Santoro Bianchi 2003). What is clear is that each island honed in on a particular ceramic production series; Pantelleria imported fine wares and nearly all amphora-borne commodities and staples but had its own successful cooking ware industry that complemented other imported cooking dishes and casseroles from nearby north and central Tunisia. Lipari, on the other hand, produced very little fine ware but developed a profitable industry in extracting and exported the mineral alum which required the manufacture of amphorae containers to store and transport the valuable resource to other cities and regions. Little is known about cooking wares and what types and productions are found on the island but Aeolian handmade cooking vessels are known to have been manufactured on Lipari and were also extensively exported around the central Mediterranean, although this series were never as successful as that from Pantelleria (Peacock 1984, 10–11). In terms of identifying industries through the ceramic evidence, the Maltese islands certainly produced most of their fine wares, lots of their cooking wares, especially in the Late Punic and early Roman period, and also a significant number of their own amphorae. However, aside from the few Late Punic series (see above), nothing else was exported. The material evidence for exports ceases from the end of the 2nd century BC onwards – at least from what has been gathered from the current evidence – and the only other export, that of textiles, is only evident from ancient texts.

This brief overview of the import ratios between fine wares and amphorae shows that despite having the option to import fine wares, the islanders consciously refrained from acquiring these vessels but chose to consume locally manufactured vessels. There is also no disparity between the quantity of local fine wares recovered

from rural and urban sites possibly suggesting that wealth and status was not the determining factor in this decision. The new ceramic evidence for the Maltese islands clearly demonstrates that the proportion of imported and local functional groups differed quite significantly between amphorae and fine wares. Imported fine wares are hardly encountered on Maltese sites until the 2nd century when ARS starts to increase. Even then, the number of ARS fragments never exceeds the proportion of local fine wares. In sharp contrast, imported amphorae are numerous and in some instances they make up the vast majority of the assemblage. This certainly indicates that investing in food staples (including that of fish sauce and grain) was of primary importance for the islanders. And despite having the capacity to import all sorts of goods, including 'luxury' ones, the islanders retained a propensity to adopt and use local fine wares.

Conclusion

This paper argued that there is evidence that the Maltese islands managed to develop a variety of local industries such as that of wine and olive oil. Wine production appears to have remained a localised and rural affair (as the presses are small and exclusively located away from major domestic structures), whilst olive cultivation and oil production took place on a larger scale and continued well into the Roman period. The evidence from the flat-bottomed amphorae suggests that wine export ceased after the mid-2nd century BC, and there is growing evidence from the Żejtun villa excavations that indicates that at least between the 3rd and 1st century BC, the vine trenches went out of use and were buried under a later farm structure that specialised in olive pressing. Neither of these small industries are mentioned in the ancient sources, although there was an attempt to export some of these products abroad, possibly suggesting that there was a regional awareness of what the islands were capable of producing. The apparent density of containers in Pantelleria could mean that Maltese products were popular there. Whether this popularity was based on Maltese residents importing home brands or whether Pantellerian inhabitants enjoyed their neighbour's wine remains difficult to surmise.

Alternatively, a clear preference towards purchasing locally manufactured fine wares as opposed to fashionable imports is quite evident in the ceramic assemblages, with no distinctions being observed between rural or urban settings. This could be interpreted as a small, yet stubborn means of identifying with local traditions. As many other types of objects were being imported, it seems unlikely that the reason not to import fine wares was due to lack of purchasing power, but rather a deliberate act that maintained a sense of local identity.

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Chapter 8

Connectivity, Trade and Punic persistence: Insularity and Identity in Late Punic to Roman Republican Sardinia (3rd–1st century BC)

Andrea Roppa

Introduction

On the island of Sardinia, insularity and identity have long been prominent and intertwined concepts, imbuing the island's cultural and political present as well as research on its past. It is therefore unsurprising that the current cultural and political identification of the islanders as Sardinians – which has often led to explicit calls for independence against the Italian state – has inevitably entered modern representations of the island's past.¹ In popular and academic representations alike, in fact, Sardinia's golden age goes back to the prehistoric period, when Nuragic civilisation thrived all over the island throughout the Bronze Age. From the Iron Age onwards, the island gradually lost its independence, as it became one of the foci of the Phoenician colonial enterprise in the 8th to 6th century BC, was subjected to Carthaginian hegemony between the 5th and 3rd century BC, and was eventually annexed to Rome's territories in the aftermath of the First Punic war in 237.

It is indeed the annexation to Rome which represents the first episode of a long story of conquests and foreign dominations of which, according to the supporters of Sardinia's independence, the annexation to the Italian state in 1861 is just one instance. In political and cultural terms, as well as for implications about identity and resistance, it is particularly important that in the context of early Roman domination the first overt revolt against foreign rule reported by written sources broke out during the second Punic war, as accounted by Livy (23.30.10; 24.40.1-12; 24.41.1-7). The rebellion took place in 215 BC and was led by Hamspicoras, a wealthy landowner of Punic descent, who eventually succumbed to Roman legions in the same year. The uprising and the character of Hamspicoras himself, who embodies the fierce independent Sardinian spirit, are an important aspect of the island's past, as shown by the attention devoted to the historical reconstruction of the rebellion by historians (Mastino 1995), as well as by the many streets in today's Sardinian towns and villages which have been named after Hamspicoras.

The connections between the modern discourse on Sardinian identity and resistance, and subsequent representations of the island's past in which those two concepts are key features (Lilliu 2004), have not passed unnoticed, particularly from postcolonial theoretical perspectives. Work carried out by P. van Dommelen on Punic and Roman Republican Sardinia, for example, has showed in great detail how concepts such as hegemony and hybrid practices may provide powerful insights to grasp the complexity of the archaeological record in colonial situations (van Dommelen 1998a, 195–209; 1998b; 2001). At the same time, however, while matters of cultural identity on the island have been explored in a number of recent studies about the Punic and Roman period (van Dommelen 2001; 2007; van Dommelen and Finocchi 2008; Roppa 2014), in archaeological terms Sardinia's insularity has somewhat implicitly been taken for granted, and it has only partially been considered as a subject matter in itself. To be sure, prehistorians have to some extent dealt with the subject of insularity to explain the rise of Nuragic civilisation during the Bronze Age and its relatively homogenous cultural traits shared by all communities across the island (Lo Schiavo 2013, 668; Webster 2015, 8–9). Because of the increased Mediterranean connectivity from the Iron Age onwards, the concept of insularity has only marginally entered archaeological enquiry about later periods, particularly the Roman.

In the light of recent developments in Mediterranean island archaeology, notably in Mediterranean prehistory (Cherry and Leppard 2014), and with particular regard to some key research questions addressed by this volume, namely how maritime connectivity shaped the islands' economy and culture and what being an island meant for integration in the Roman Empire, in this paper I shall focus on the late Punic to the Roman Republican period (3rd–1st century BC) and explore a number of archaeological case studies on the island. It is my aim to show the potential of the theoretical concept of insularity in understanding the shaping and renegotiation of Sardinia's identity from Punic hegemony to Roman rule. To do so, I shall first outline the implications of the concept of insularity in the specific case of Sardinia and the relationships between insularity and contextual economic and cultural factors throughout the Republican period. I shall then move to the archaeological record and focus on the case studies of Nora and Monte Sirai and its territory in the southern part of the island, at Neapolis and in the Terralbese district, and in the hinterland of Olbia, in west-central and north-eastern Sardinia, respectively (Fig. 39). The discussion of the case studies will allow me to gauge different levels of connectivity and divergent trajectories of insularity across the island against the historical conjuncture provided by the transition from the Punic to the Republican period. I will also explore the interplay between cultural traditions and economic opportunities in the integration of Sardinia in the Roman Empire.

An island archaeology of late Punic to Roman Republican Sardinia

Quoting from an important volume explicitly tackling issues of insularity, connectivity and identity to explore prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus, insularity is described as 'the quality of being isolated as a result of living on islands, or of being somewhat detached in outlook and experience' (Knapp 2008, 18). Such a definition bears a

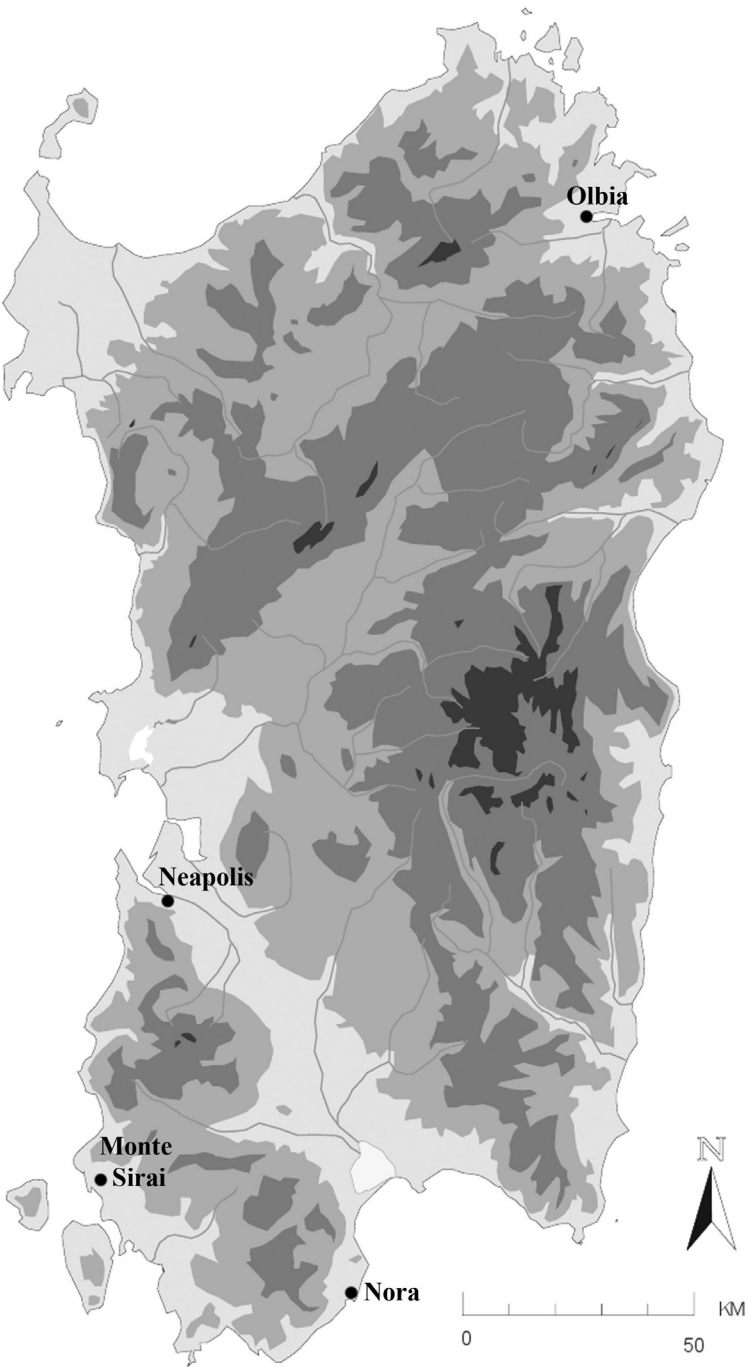


Fig. 39. Map of Sardinia showing the sites discussed.

numbers of implications about the perceptions of islanders and life on islands. These include stereotypes – which in narrative and poetry are often used as metaphors – such as remoteness (Broodbank 1999), and ideas about the more natural pace of an island's life or even its backwardness and toughness (Rainbird 1999).

Archaeologically, the most evident implication of the concept of insularity has long been a deterministic approach to, and the definition of a 'biogeographic paradigm' in island archaeology, aptly defined as an 'insular perspective' (Smith and van Dommelen 2016), according to which islands have been perceived as laboratories to study the evolution of human communities in a sort of relative isolation, as provided by the natural geographic bound of the sea (Evans 1973; Cherry and Leppard 2014, 16–18). Beginning with the work of Broodbank on the Cyclades throughout prehistory which espoused a regional perspective and focused on the development of inter-island networks (Broodbank 1993; 2000), to the appearance of new key concepts in Mediterranean archaeology over the last fifteen years, particularly connectivity and mobility (Horden and Purcell 2000, 123–172, 342–352; van Dommelen and Knapp 2010, 1–14; Knapp and van Dommelen 2014a, 109–110), island archaeology has now been understood in the framework of broader trans-Mediterranean interaction (Cherry and Leppard 2014, 16–21; Knapp and van Dommelen 2014b). Especially for periods as late as the 1st millennium BC – when movements of goods, people and ideas across the Mediterranean dramatically increased – the archaeological study of islands cannot be taken in isolation but as part and parcel of the contemporary larger Mediterranean picture.

In the case of Sardinia, centrally located in the western Mediterranean, insularity has traditionally been perceived according to quite a deterministic approach 'as a sort of buffer against frequent, random, or indeterminate contacts' throughout prehistory (Webster 2015, 8), particularly in the Bronze Age. This aspect allowed for the steady development of a culturally unique and homogenous civilisation: the Nuragic culture. At the same time, because 'distance could be overcome by individual or collective choice and determination' (Lo Schiavo 2013, 668), contact with overseas cultures, and the presence in the island's archaeological record of selected imported items, which became more frequent from the Late Bronze Age (1350–1100 BC), has been explained as the result of the islanders' agency. By that time Nuragic society had reached levels of social and political complexity almost unparalleled in the western Mediterranean and one would expect that the island's elite controlled, at least partially, flows of people and objects from overseas. A closer archaeological examination, however, suggests that the distribution patterns of different kinds of exotica and imported items throughout the Late and Final Bronze Age (1100–900 BC) do not match at all the complex settlement hierarchy which had emerged on the island by the Late Bronze Age (Russell 2010; Blake 2014, 98–103). The distribution patterns of imported items – mainly from the eastern Mediterranean – are in fact not associated with larger, more complex multi-towered sites, conventionally interpreted as regional central places, but are mainly found in

medium-sized settlements. These patterns suggest that Nuragic elites did not take advantage of the trade opportunities provided by late 2nd – early 1st millennium BC increased connectivity to adapt their power to the changing Mediterranean scenario, as they conservatively kept focusing on traditional agro-pastoral resources (Blake 2014, 104–106). As a consequence, the subsequent increase in western Mediterranean mobility from the 9th century BC, when contact with overseas Phoenicians traders became more and more frequent leading to the establishment of permanent settlements in the 8th century BC, resulted in profound societal changes and in new opportunities for those local communities which took advantage of the maritime networks controlled by the Phoenicians.

Such readings on the links between insularity and Sardinia's societal developments in the course of later prehistory offer important insights for later periods as well. While, on the one hand, traditional interpretations on the rise of Nuragic civilisation throughout the Bronze Age might be consistent with a traditional biogeographic paradigm, on the other hand, later developments between the late 2nd and early 1st millennium BC clearly show the reverse of the condition of insularity and its multifaceted implications. In fact, while insularity – here synonymous with relative isolation – allowed for the evolution of the culturally homogenous Nuragic civilisation, the failure of Nuragic elites to take advantage of overseas opportunities and to adapt to a changing Mediterranean world resulted in the gradual loss of the power they had established, and in the renegotiation of the islanders' identity.

From the Iron Age onwards, an insular perspective on Sardinia is simply untenable, and insularity must be understood within a 'Mediterraneanization' framework (Morris 2003), both because of the dramatic increase of Mediterranean connectivity – which is well-depicted on the island by the amount and provenance of imported items – and, more importantly, because of the gradual establishment of trading sites by foreign groups such as the Phoenicians, who linked the island to an unprecedented range of diverse overlapping and intersecting regional and trans-Mediterranean maritime networks.

In the specific chronological period under scrutiny in the present paper, that is the 3rd to 1st century BC, the island shifted from Punic hegemony to Roman Republican rule, moving from the western Mediterranean maritime network controlled by Carthage to the market managed by Rome. While the Punic maritime network connected Sardinia mainly to southern and western Mediterranean trade routes, the Roman Republican network, initially centered on the Tyrrhenian sea, grew quickly to include the whole Mediterranean basin by the end of the 1st millennium BC. That situation of changing patterns of maritime contacts is well documented by the island's archaeological record, which I shall explore in the following section. Through analysis of selected case studies, I shall show that on late Punic to Republican Sardinia the condition of insularity offered the opportunity to take advantage of shifting maritime and trade networks due to altered political and economic factors. At the same time, because pre-existing sea routes with north Africa were not cut off, that allowed for the preservation of cultural links within the Punic world.

Punic Sardinia and Roman Republican Mediterranean networks

The persistence of Punic culture on Sardinia throughout the early Roman period has been explored in great detail in a number of studies (Bondi 1990; van Dommelen 1998a, 195–209; 1998b; 2001; 2007). Material culture documents the pre-Roman cultural roots of the island in a wide range of archaeological evidence, among which pottery, architecture, building techniques, and even epigraphy, a field in which the use of Punic in official inscriptions lasted as late as the 2nd century AD as shown by a well-known bilingual inscription in Latin and Punic from Bithia on the southern coast of the island (Zucca 2005b, 215).

In this section, I shall address questions about the relationship between maritime connectivity, the re-shaping of the island's economy, and issues concerning the significance of Sardinia's insularity for its integration in the Roman Empire by focusing on archaeological case studies which will show how communities inhabiting different areas on the island responded to changing economic, political and cultural conditions. To best explore maritime connectivity, my analysis will be limited to coastal areas and communities. That, of course, does not imply that inland communities were less connected to overseas networks, but reflects the nature of archaeological documentation and research in the island's interior which usually focuses on the prehistoric period and Nuragic sites. To explore the development of the condition of Sardinia's insularity over the late Punic to Roman Republican period, I present archaeological case studies by focusing on the urban layout and ceramic material culture at Nora, settlement and consumption patterns at Neapolis and in its hinterland, and settlement patterns in the hinterlands of Monte Sirai and Olbia.

Nora

The site of Nora is located on a narrow two-headed peninsula that stretches south and east into the Tyrrhenian Sea. Excavations carried out over the last 60 years have brought to light a large settlement continuously inhabited between the 7th century BC and the early medieval period. During the Punic and Republican period the site was one of the most important urban centres on the island, as shown by elaborate urban planning (Botto 2007), the presence of at least three sanctuaries (Oggiano 2005), and by elite rock-cut graves containing rich funerary assemblages (Bartoloni and Tronchetti 1981). Also present at Nora is a *tophet*, a sanctuary/cemetery for infants and a typical feature of central Mediterranean Phoenician settlements often associated with urban status and the self-identification of the local (urban) community (Bondi 1979; Bonnet 2011; Quinn 2011). Particularly relevant for the understanding of the site's development between the 3rd and 1st century BC is the area of the Roman forum, where excavations have revealed a carefully laid-out Punic quarter dating between the late 6th-early 5th century BC and the very late 1st century BC. The area, consisting of houses and semi-public storerooms served by a paved street (Bonetto 2009), was demolished to build the town's main square – the Roman forum at the end of the 1st century BC (Fig. 40) (Ghiotto 2009).

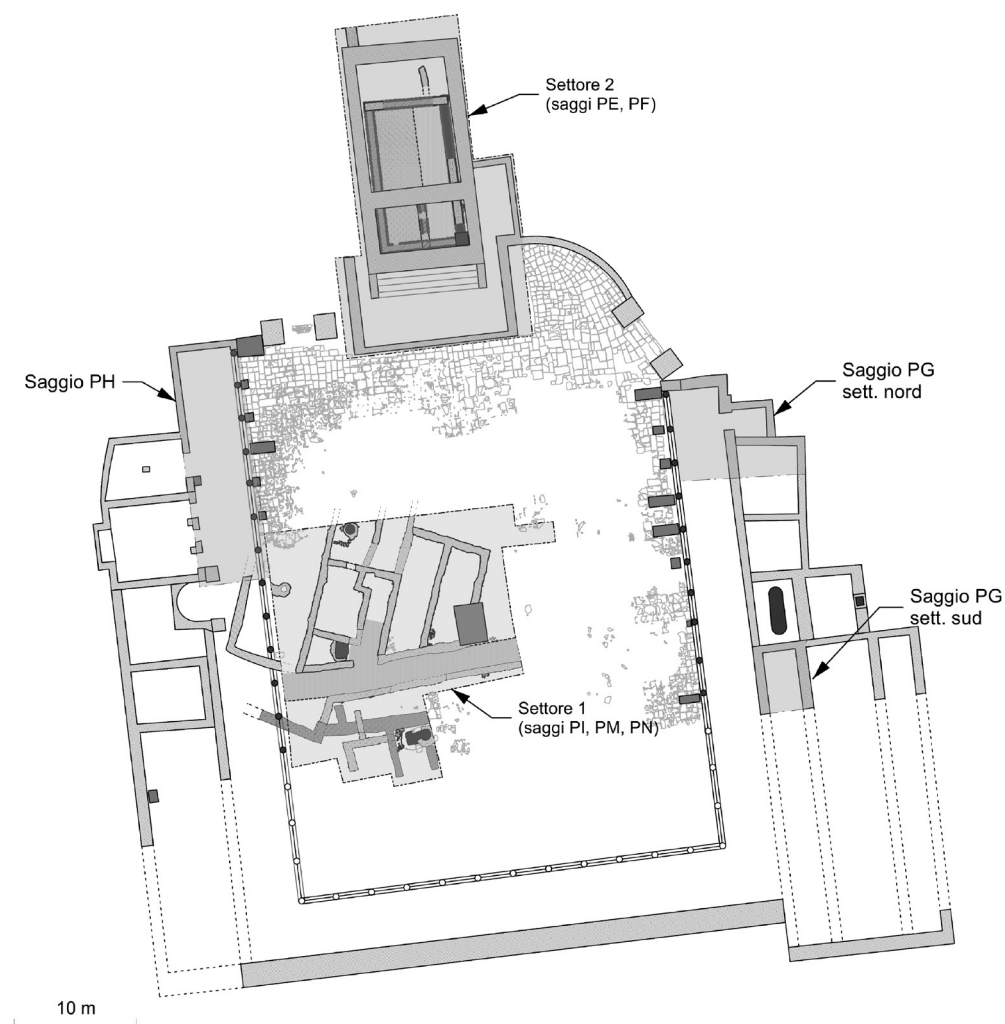


Fig. 40. Plan of the forum and Punic quarter at Nora (after Bonetto 2007, fig. 1).

Ceramic material, particularly amphorae and fine ware, found in the Punic quarter sheds light on patterns of trade and consumption between the late Punic and Republican period. Amphora shapes (n=278) are predominantly traditional Sardinian Punic amphorae, which are evenly distributed over the 3rd to 1st century BC. Both the chronology and provenance of imported amphorae types seem to point to a pattern of variation in trade routes around the mid-2nd century BC, which is likely to follow Sardinia's gradually closer involvement in Republican Rome's network after its annexation in 237 BC. Until then, imported amphorae arrived from the Punic central and western Mediterranean. Only two fragments can be related to a south Italian

provenance between the 4th–3rd centuries BC. Much more substantial is the amount of amphorae imported from Italy over the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, especially when compared to contemporary imports from North Africa (Fig. 41).

Amphora type	Nora	Neapolis	References
T-4.1.1.3./4./T-4.2.1.2. = D7	62	56	Ramón Torres 1995 Bartoloni 1988
T-5.2.1.1./3/T-5.2.2.1./2. = D9/10	165	221	Ramón Torres 1995 Bartoloni 1988
T-4.2.1.10.		4	Ramón Torres 1995 Campanella 2005
T-4.1.2.2.		1	Ramón Torres 1995
T-4.2.1.5./6. = E2	5	6	Ramón Torres 1995 Bartoloni 1988
T-4.2.1.7.		1	Ramón Torres 1995
T-5.2.3.1. = E1	6	6	Ramón Torres 1995 Bartoloni 1988
T-5.2.3.2.		1	Ramón Torres 1995
T-6.1.2.1.		1	Ramón Torres 1995
T-15.1.1.1.		1	Ramón Torres 1995
T-8.1.1.1.	2		Ramón Torres 1995
T-8.1.3.3.		1	Ramón Torres 1995
T-12.1.1.1.	1		Ramón Torres 1995
T-7.3.1.1./T-7.4.2.2. et similis = H2	2	11	Ramón Torres 1995 Bartoloni 1988
T-7.5.2.3.		2	Ramón Torres 1995
Py 9		1	See Garau 2006
Vandermersch I		1	Vandermersch 1994
Vandermersch III		24	Vandermersch 1994
Lyding Will 1A	2	11	Lyding Will 1982
Lyding Will 1D	14	2	Lyding Will 1982
Dressel 1/1A/1B/1C	25	12	Peacock and Williams 1986
Trip. ant.	2		See Franceschi 2009
Rodhian	1		See Franceschi 2009
Eastern greek		1	See Garau 2006
Total	278	368	

Fig. 41. Comparative table showing amphorae types from the Punic quarter at Nora and Neapolis.

Cup F2154	4	Patera F1312	10
Cup F2610	1	Patera F2255	3
Cup F2640	4	Patera F1443	2
Cup F2646/8	3	Patera F2264/5	1
Cup F2820	7	Patera F1441	1
Cup F2840/60	2	Fishplate F1122	1
Cup F2574	1	Base P131	1
Cup F2780	6	Base P151	1
Cup F2950	2	Base P154	3
Cup F2960	2	Base P164	1
Cup F2980	4	Base P211	7
Cup F2538	1	Base P212	2
Patera F2233/4	7	Base P230	5
Patera F1312	10	Base P321	5

Fig. 42. Table showing Campanian A BG ware shapes from the Punic quarter at Nora (n=87).

A similar pattern of increased and more intense relationships with the Italian peninsula from the 2nd century BC is matched by the distribution of Black Gloss wares shapes (n=184), among which Campanian A (n=87) and Campanian B (n=33) ware shapes account for two-thirds of the total. Not only were Campanian black gloss imports predominant among fine wares, but also ceramic shapes show an extremely wide variety of mostly open forms. The prominence of fine ware from the Italian mainland and the presence of a wide typological range clearly point to sustained and continuous trade links between Nora and the peninsula between the 2nd and 1st century BC (Fig. 42).

Neapolis and its hinterland

The site of Neapolis lies on the lower slopes of the Iglesiente mountains and the shores of the San Giovanni lagoon which is part of the Gulf of Oristano. Despite the fact that limited excavations carried out on site have mainly focused on late Roman and post-Roman remains (Ranieri *et al.* 2005), detailed survey has provided evidence of occupation spanning the entire first millennium BC through to the early medieval period (Garau 2006). There is scarce archaeological evidence dated to the Punic and Republican period; among the remains is a large cemetery located to the north of the site consisting of simple trench burials and, near to it, a shrine, where a large collection of terracotta figurines was found (Zucca 1987; 2005a).

More detailed information from systematic survey allows for the reconstruction of settlement patterns in the territory surrounding the site, in particular the Terralbese district, a fertile sandy ridge some 10–15 km north and northeast of Neapolis. There, a dense rural settlement pattern throughout the Punic and Republican period has been identified, with up to 5.5 sites per square km. While the establishment of the rural settlement dates to the late 5th century BC, when the earliest sites appeared, most of them existed by the 4th century BC. The whole settlement pattern remained basically unchanged throughout the entire Roman Republican period until the 1st century AD when substantial changes occurred. Based on surface scatters, most sites were interpreted as small-to-medium sized farms (van Dommelen 1998a, 130–142; 2003). The recent excavations of two of these sites, respectively at Truncu 'e Molas (van Dommelen *et al.* 2007), and Pauli Stincus (Díes Cusí *et al.* 2010), have

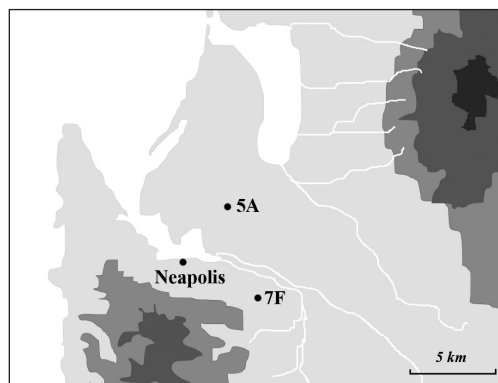


Fig. 43. Map of sites discussed in west-central Sardinia.

revealed evidence of wine production at the former and at both sites modest structural remains consistent with a preliminary interpretation of small-sized farms (Fig. 43).

A focus on ceramic material – particularly amphorae and fine ware – from surveys at Neapolis and rural sites in Terralbese district helps to reconstruct trade routes and consumption in the area between the Punic and Republican period. The amphora sample ($n=368$) from the survey at Neapolis is mostly made up of local Sardinian Punic shapes which are predominant throughout the

whole period. The number of amphorae imported from the Italian mainland appears to be greater up to the mid-3rd century BC than it is in the later Republican period. Amphora shapes conventionally associated with north Africa show the continuity of Neapolis's 'Punic' links in the Republican period, when imports from that area increased (Fig. 41) (Roppa 2013a, 125–126; 2013b).

The overall collection of Black Gloss fine wares fragments ($n=209$) – mostly open forms – is predominantly made up of earlier Attic Black Gloss sherds ($n=70$); in this case, these include the whole chronological range of this ware, dating between the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Locally made Sardinian black gloss wares 'chiazzata' ($n=42$) – and 'pasta grigia' ($n=25$) – both Sardinian productions dating to the late 4th–2nd century BC, and between the late 2nd century BC and the late 1st century AD, respectively;² these are more frequent throughout the 3rd to 1st century BC while mainland Italy's Campanian A ($n=22$) and B ($n=1$) wares are much less represented (Roppa 2013a, 125–126; 2013b).

In the hinterland of Neapolis, quite a different situation has emerged from the analysis of ceramic material which documents to different extents how rural communities responded to the new political and economic climate following Sardinia's annexation to Roman territories. The existence of different and sometimes divergent trends has in fact been noticed, which has their opposites at sites 5A and 7F, both at about 5 km from Neapolis and respectively located on the Terralbese sandy ridge, and on coarse and heavy soils at the lower slopes of the Iglesiente mountains (Roppa 2013a, 111–113; Roppa 2013b). At site 5A, inhabited between the 4th century BC and the early 2nd century AD, amphorae ($n=25$) are mainly traditional Punic Sardinian types dated to the 4th–1st centuries BC. Imports from North Africa date between the 3rd–2nd centuries BC and amphorae from southern Italy/Sicily date between the 2nd–1st centuries BC. A large and widely differentiated collection of open Black Gloss wares mainly dating between the 3rd–1st centuries BC comes from this site ($n=22$),

	7F	5A	References
T-4.1.1.3./4. /T-4.2.1.2. = D7	7	3	Ramón Torres 1995 Bartoloni 1988
T-4.2.1.10.	3	1	Ramón Torres 1995 Campanella 2005
T-5.2.1.3./ T-5.1.1.1. = D9/10	25	15	Ramón Torres 1995 Bartoloni 1988
T-5.2.3.1. = E1	2	1	Ramón Torres 1995 Bartoloni 1988
T-7.4.2.1./ T-7.3.1.1. = H2	1	2	Ramón Torres 1995 Bartoloni 1988
T-7.4.3.1. = H3		1	Ramón Torres 1995 Bartoloni 1988
Lyding Will 1D	1	1	Lyding Will 1982
Dressel 1A	1		Peacock and Williams 1986
Dressel 1B		1	Peacock and Williams 1986
<i>Total</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>25</i>	

Fig. 44. Comparative table showing amphorae types from rural sites 5A and 7F.

century BC, systematic survey has shown that a settlement pattern based on small to medium-sized farms appeared between the 4th and 3rd century BC. Dating to that period are 14 sites, both small and large in size. Small-sized sites have been identified in the valley downhill Monte Sirai as well as in proximity of larger sites (Finocchi 2005, 225–226; van Dommelen, Finocchi 2008, 169–170), which are located at about 5 km from Monte Sirai. These sites have yielded evidence for a range of productive activities, among which were quarrying and metal working (Finocchi 2007, 37–41). Such a settlement pattern has been related to a hierarchical organisation of the countryside in which Monte Sirai functioned as a central place, controlling agricultural activity in the surrounding valley. Larger sites carried out specialised activities, such as the site at Sa Domu de Perdu, close to a quarry where building material in use at Monte Sirai throughout the Punic period came from.

either imported or locally (Sardinia) produced. At site 7F, inhabited between the 4th and 1st century BC, diagnostic amphora fragments (n=40) are evenly distributed over the whole occupation sequence. Traditional Sardinian Punic amphorae are well represented during the 4th century BC, with an increase between the 3rd–2nd centuries BC. From the late 4th century BC on, amphora shapes conventionally associated with Punic North Africa appeared, as well as Southern Italian/Sicilian amphorae dating from the 2nd century BC onwards. Black Gloss fine ware shapes are poorly represented (n=4) at site 7F, among which a jug fragment whose typology and fabric suggest a Carthaginian provenance and a chronology spanning the first half of the 2nd century BC (Figs. 44 and 45) (Lancel *et al.* 1982, 122, fig. 147; van Dommelen 1998a, 197–199).

The hinterlands of Monte Sirai and Olbia

In the hinterland of Monte Sirai, a hilltop site located about 5 km from Sardinia's southern coast which was settled by Phoenicians in the second half of the 7th

	7F	5A	References
Attic fishplate 1072		1	Sparkes and Talcott 1970
'Chiazzata' cup Lamboglia 22		1	Tronchetti 1996
'Chiazzata' cup F2783/4		1	Morel 1981
'Chiazzata' plate F2233		1	Morel 1981
'Chiazzata' fishplate F1125		1	Morel 1981
'Chiazzata' base P174		1	Morel 1981
'Chiazzata' base P212		1	Morel 1981
Camp. A patera F2252		1	Morel 1981
Camp. A cup F2646		1	Morel 1981
Camp. A base P212		1	Morel 1981
Camp. B patera F1321		1	Morel 1981
'Pasta grigia' cup F2323		2	Morel 1981
'Pasta grigia' cup F2567		1	Morel 1981
'Pasta grigia' patera F1315		1	Morel 1981
'Pasta grigia' patera F2234		1	Morel 1981
'Pasta grigia' patera F2277		1	Morel 1981
'Pasta grigia' bowl F2538		1	Morel 1981
Jug Byrsa A.176.22	1		Lancel <i>et al.</i> 1982
*Cup F2783	1		Morel 1981
*Cup F2784			Morel 1981
*Cup F1241		1	Morel 1981
*Patera F2243		1	Morel 1981
*Patera F2286		1	Morel 1981
*Base P341		1	Morel 1981
*Base P212	1		Morel 1981
*Base P310	1		Morel 1981
Total	4	22	

Fig. 45. Comparative table showing BG wares types from rural sites 5A and 7F. *unidentified production.

This pattern of hierarchical rural settlement centred around Monte Sirai is somewhat contradicted by later developments in the late Republican period. In fact, when settlement at Monte Sirai came to an end around the late 2nd century BC, the rural landscape became more populated. Ten new sites appeared, in particular in the valley surrounding Monte Sirai, and site density increased from 0.7 to 1.2 sites per squared km in the late 1st century BC (Fig. 46) (Finocchi 2005, 243; 2007).

A different situation has emerged from topographic explorations carried out in the hinterland of Olbia, in north-eastern Sardinia. The settlement of Olbia, located

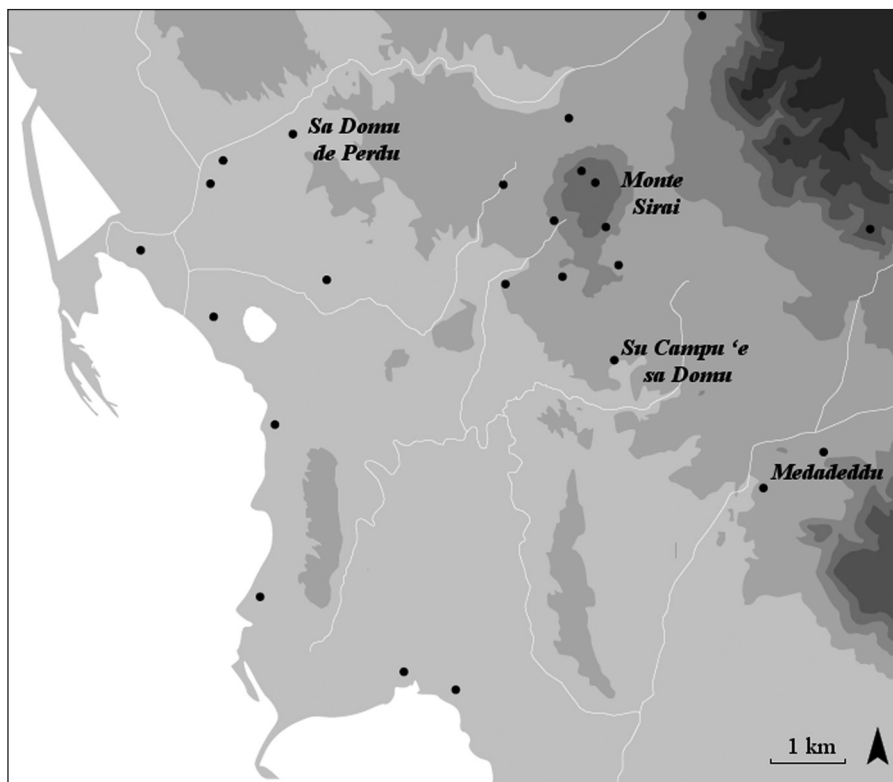


Fig. 46. Map showing settlement patterns in the hinterland of Monte Sirai in the late Republican period (after Roppa 2013a, fig. 42).

at the base of a deep and sheltered bay, grew in importance during the Punic period, particularly from the 4th century BC, when city walls were erected (Roppa 2013a, 63–65). Throughout the whole Punic period, settlement patterns in the fertile alluvial valley to the west of Olbia did not change substantially from the preceding prehistoric period, and among the nine sites which have yielded material evidence dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, eight were located at pre-existing Nuragic structures while only the one at Serra Elveghe – to the southwest of Olbia – was built in the 4th century BC. On the basis of ceramic material collected at Serra Elveghe – which consisted of a 10 by 8 m rectangular building – the site has been associated with ritual activity (Fig. 47) (Sanciu 1998, 779–784).

Rural settlement dramatically increased between the 2nd and 1st century BC when 25 new sites dotted the hinterland of Olbia. On the evidence of ceramic material collected at these sites, most of them have been interpreted as farms, which has been confirmed by excavations carried out at the site at S'Imbalconadu, located at some 5 km south of Olbia on a fluvial terrace overlooking the Padrogianu river. Although the site was built a century after the annexation of Sardinia to the Roman Republic, its

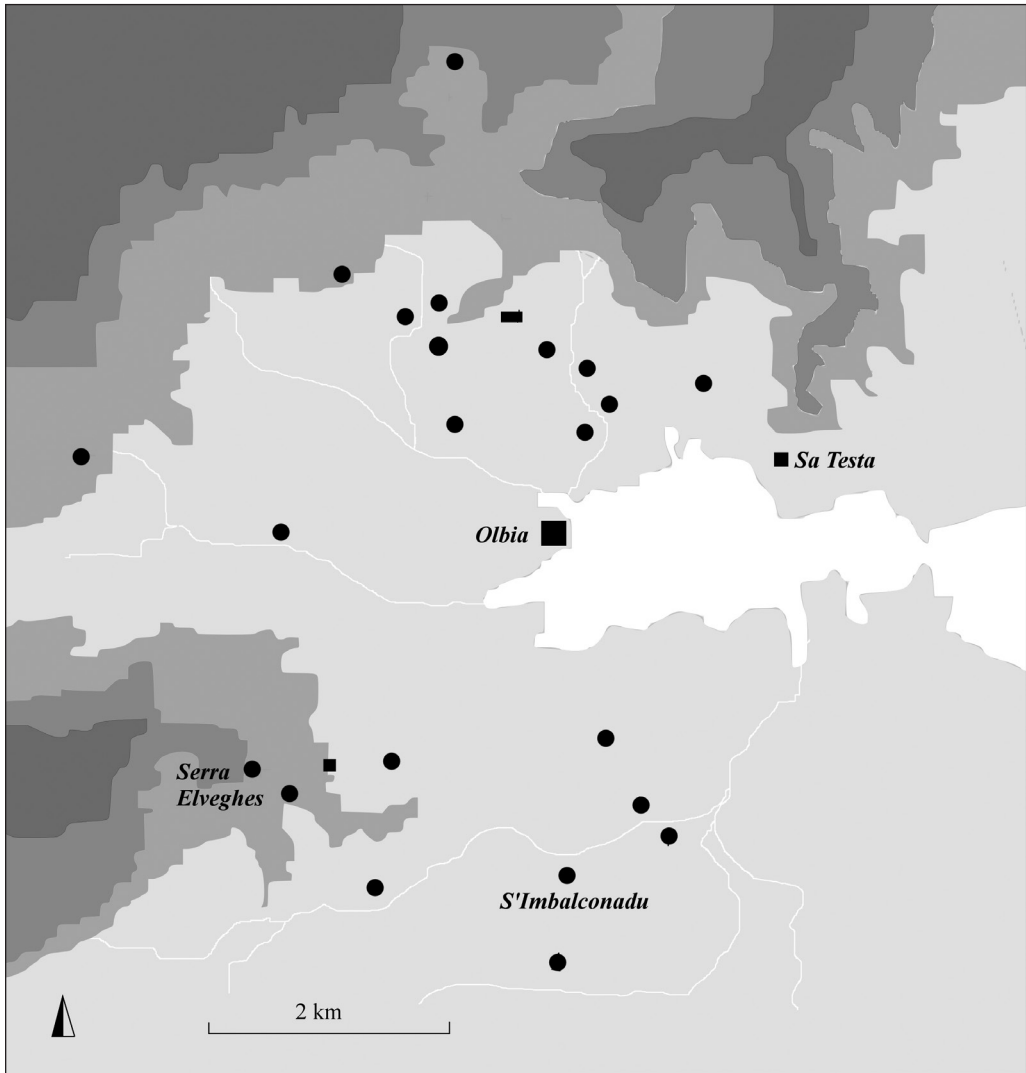


Fig. 47. Map showing settlement patterns in the hinterland of Olbia in the late Republican period (after Roppa 2013a, fig. 47).

overall layout and architectural features clearly point to ties with pre-existing Punic rural traditions, which emerge from comparisons with contemporary rural sites of the western Mediterranean, in particular Pauli Stincus in west-central Sardinia, Can Fita and Can Corda on the island of Ibiza and sites on the island of Djerba just off the coast of north Africa (Fentress 2001; Puig Moragón *et al.* 2004; Díes Cusí *et al.* 2010, 125–127). The farm is fenced by a roughly 30 by 30 meter squared wall against which, in rooms built along its southern side, activities like bread and wine production were carried out. Centrally located in the courtyard was the dwelling, a 9 by 9 m squared

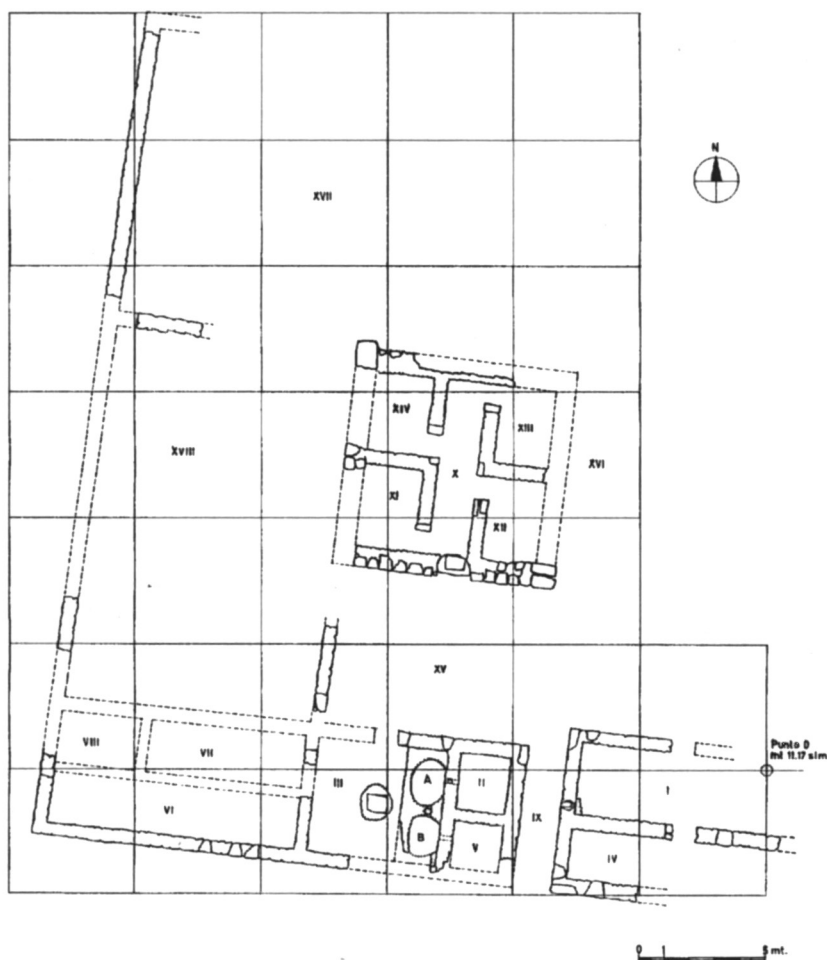


Fig. 48. Plan of the farm at S'Imbalconadu (after Roppa 2013a, fig. 48).

and probably two-storey building (Fig. 48) (Sanciu 1997, 13–136; 160–176). Ceramic material, particularly cooking and table ware, document both ties with Punic traditions and increasing links with the Italian mainland as a consequence of Sardinia's inclusion in the Roman Republican maritime network. This is suggested by the distribution and provenance of Black Gloss fine ware shapes collected at S'Imbalconadu, two-thirds of which are made up of Campanian A Black Gloss fine ware while the rest account for local Sardinian productions (Sanciu 1997, 137–153). The site was abandoned less than a century after its construction, shortly before the mid-1st century BC, like most sites that were built in the late Republican period. Only seven out of 25 sites which appeared in the 2nd c. BC, in fact, yielded evidence of settlement into the Imperial period (Sanciu 1997, 154–155; 1998, 779–784).

Roman rule, economic opportunities and Punic cultural persistence

In order to discuss the connections between insularity and identity on Sardinia between the late Punic and Roman Republican period, three factors need to be taken into account, namely the forms of Roman rule and impact on the island, the economic opportunities provided by the Roman Republican maritime network, and Punic cultural persistence.

Despite its early annexation to Republican Rome, no evidence of the typical Roman colonial landscape has been brought to light on the island that can be dated to the Republican period. Unlike other territories in mainland Italy and southern France which were annexed during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, *coloniae* were not established on Sardinia and centuriation systems did not shape the island's rural landscapes.³ As reported by ancient sources, and Livy in particular,⁴ the Romans were mainly concerned with sedating frequent rebellions on the island and levying tributes. Both activities related to the military sphere, as tributes, generally *frumentum*, were levied for the needs of Roman armies fighting on the island or across the Mediterranean (Roppa 2013a, 25–27). Archaeological evidence of changes in the urban layout of Sardinian centres, and the appearance of distinctively Roman architectural features in the private and public sphere, did not occur until the very late 2nd – 1st century BC, when Roman-style sanctuaries appeared at Sant'Antioco and Cagliari, where a theatre-temple typologically akin to contemporary central Italian ritual complexes was built (Roppa 2013a, 51–52, 62). Transformations in the urban fabric of Sardinian cities became more frequent from the very end of the 1st century BC, as shown by the case study at Nora, where a substantial portion of the Punic city was literally razed to the ground to build a *forum* complex comprising adjacent typologically Roman sacred and public buildings (Ghiotto 2009).

This information points clearly to a limited integration of the island in the Roman administrative system throughout most of the Republican period, and it is confirmed by historical sources, which report the foundation of *coloniae* and *municipia* not earlier than the second half of the 1st century BC, when *colonia Iulia Turris Libisonis* was founded at modern day Porto Torres on Sardinia's northern coast, and *Carales* – modern day Cagliari – and Nora were granted the status of *municipium*, all three events probably dating to the year 38 BC. On the other hand, epigraphic evidence regarding urban administration indicates that there was persistence of the traditional Punic administrative system consisting of two yearly magistrates – the *sufetes* – at Nora, Sant'Antioco, Tharros until the 1st century BC, and at Bithia as late as the second half of the 2nd century AD (Zucca 2005b, 215).

While, on the one hand, Roman impact as documented by both archaeological record and historical sources was relatively weak throughout all the Republican period and allowed for the persistence of Punic cultural traditions, on the other hand, the increasing presence of imported pottery from mainland Italy all over the island points to the development of trade routes and close links with the peninsula. Such evidence suggests that the islanders took advantage of new economic opportunities, as shown

by the rapid increase of Campanian Black Gloss ware among other fine wares in the 2nd century BC archaeological record from Nora. At the same site, the construction of a *forum*, which completely renovated the city's layout at the end of the Republican period is also evidence of the city's economic growth and the redeployment of its urban status, as well as the renegotiation of the community's cultural identity, in a Roman context (Roppa 2013b, 178). The situation documented in Nora is matched by developments in the countryside. The dramatic increase of rural settlement in the hinterland of Olbia from the mid-2nd century BC points to the existence of more favourable living conditions and intensive cultivation of the countryside possibly as the result of Roman military activity (van Dommelen 2007, 62–65; Roppa 2012, 2589–2590). As shown by excavations at S'Imbalconadu, the layout of the farm and ceramic material culture in use clearly show the local origins of the people who lived there, who had probably moved from Olbia to take advantage of new opportunities. A similar, although less marked, trend in increasing rural settlements is shown by research carried out in the hinterland of Monte Sirai. While the appearance of ten new rural sites between the 2nd and 1st century BC may be at least partially related to the abandonment of Monte Sirai, whose inhabitants could have moved down hill to populate the countryside, rural settlement followed pre-existing settlement patterns. Similar forms of continuity have also emerged in the Terralbese rural district, where the dense settlement pattern established during the Punic period was maintained throughout all the Republican period.

The analysis of archaeological evidence has shown that Sardinia's annexation to Republican Rome created new opportunities which resulted in an increase of agricultural production and trade with the Italian mainland. The persistence of Punic cultural traditions and ties with the Punic world did not hamper economic activities within the network provided that the islanders were able to adapt to the new political and economic conditions. This is evident in west-central Sardinia, particularly at Neapolis and rural sites in its hinterland. The type and amount of imported items from Neapolis between the Punic and Republican period hints at close ties with Punic North Africa, to the detriment of – probably more profitable – trade relationships with the Italian peninsula. A similar pattern is also shown by ceramic material from farmstead 7F, where its inhabitants probably consciously decided to avoid Roman imports and keep links with North Africa. Quite different is the material record from nearby farm 5A, where the relatively large presence of Black Gloss ware types, among which Campanian imports were present, could point to the choice of that rural household to participate in the Roman Republican network.

Conclusion

The case studies discussed above help to understand how a focus on insularity to explore late Punic to Roman Republican Sardinia can shed light on the complex interplay between cultural traditions, the renegotiation of the islanders' identity, and economic opportunities provided by shifting maritime networks. On Sardinia,

centrally located, and relatively isolated in the western Mediterranean, the condition of insularity appears to bear multifaceted and contrasting implications. On the one hand, the development of strong identity traits and cultural traditions, such as the persistence of Punic culture throughout the Republican period, are usually associated with typical ‘insular features’. On the other hand, however, inhabiting an island at the crossroad of western Mediterranean trade routes implied also the possibility of taking advantage of changing patterns of Mediterranean connectivity. Unlike in the Late Bronze/Iron Age, when new opportunities were missed by the island’s elite, in the Republican period Sardinian urban and rural communities participated in Mediterranean-wide Roman trade networks. As shown above, most communities were able to retain their Punic cultural roots and traditions throughout the Republican period, but inclusion in Roman trade networks and economy meant also a gradual but inevitable renegotiation of the islanders’ identity by the early Imperial period and the adoption of typically Roman material culture in all aspects of life. While the gradual adoption of Roman material culture on the island can indeed be seen as evidence of Roman colonial power, it should not be forgotten that by the late Republican period the entire Mediterranean basin was connected via the Roman maritime network, and Roman material culture was the material *trait d’union* between the East and the West. If compared to other island case studies such as the Ionian islands, where important cultural and economic changes took place earlier in the Republican period,⁵ it is clear that dealing with insularity in the Roman period means dealing with strong economic and military factors. In the case of the Ionian islands, Rome’s economic interests and the role of bridgehead played in the context of Rome’s expansion towards the East explains why cultural and economic transformations occurred earlier than on Sardinia, where despite the many but short military campaigns carried out by Roman *consules* to sedate rebellions during the 2nd century BC, the complete re-shaping of the island’s identity took place only in the Imperial period.

Notes

- 1 Which is supported by a myriad of local political parties, among which the *Partito sardo d’azione* (<http://www.psdaz.net/>) and the movement *Sardigna Natzione Indipendentzia* (<http://www.sardignanatzione.it/>). For a political analysis of Sardinian nationalism, see Hepburn 2009.
- 2 ‘Chiazzata’ black gloss ware: Righini Cantelli 1981; ‘pasta grigia’ black gloss ware: Tronchetti 1996, 32–33.
- 3 For an up-to-date recent discussion on Roman Republican colonisation see Stek, Pelgrom 2014.
- 4 See Roppa 2013a, 25–32 for a detailed account.
- 5 See Zoumpaki in this volume.

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Chapter 9

Etudes et constat préliminaire des implantations fortifiées de Corse du second âge du Fer au changement d'ère. Le Cas de la région Centre-Ouest de la Corse

Jean-Baptiste Mary

Histoire et géographie, introduction à la Corse

Le cadre géographique

Avant d'entamer le sujet il convient de définir la géographie de la Corse afin de cerner à la fois la situation des sites étudiés, mais aussi de la complexité du terrain.

L'île est située en Méditerranée occidentale, non loin des côtes toscanes et de son archipel, entre le golfe de Gênes et le Nord de la Sardaigne. Elle s'étend d'Est en Ouest sur 84,5 kilomètres pour 183 kilomètres du Nord au Sud, ce qui lui confère une superficie totale de 8,722 km². Le Monte Cintu s'élevant à 2 710 mètres au-dessus du niveau de la mer, se distingue comme son plus haut sommet. Selon Simi (1982, 9), 53,5% du territoire insulaire est situé au-dessus de 400 mètres d'altitude. La moyenne altitudinale étant de 568 mètres. Par ses dimensions, sur les cent cinquante-neuf îles présentes dans le bassin méditerranéen, la Corse fait partie des quatre plus grandes de Méditerranée derrière Chypre et devant la Crète.

La complexité des paysages de l'île est l'écho de sa formation géologique. Elle s'avère très riche, créant de fait des écarts de composition et de solidité des roches. Ce résultat est accompagné d'un système hydrologique complexe comprenant une infinité de ruisseaux essentiellement saisonniers, agissant comme des instruments de découpe, formant alors de fortes variations altimétriques. D'après Simi (1982, 9): «C'est le seul agent d'érosion pour toute la Corse intérieure. Le ruissellement et le régime des cours d'eau influent sur l'action érosive dans ce pays aux fortes dénivellations. (...) tous ces cours d'eau sont des torrents, fougueux, irréguliers, travailleurs; ils dévalent, puissants et tumultueux sur des talwegs escarpés où, ne pouvant s'élargir, ils mettent toutes leur puissance pour s'approfondir. Leur érosion est intense, puisque pour un même débit moyen les fleuves les plus irréguliers sont les plus agressifs.»

En ce qui concerne le couvert végétal, il est préférable ici de généraliser. Seules les essences les plus représentatives sont énumérées car elles forment le plus souvent de grandes entités constituant, dans la plupart des cas, des forêts et des bois.

Le Chêne vert (*Quercus ilex*) est l'essence la plus présente au sein de la région d'étude ouest de la Corse. S'il ne forme pas d'entité, il se retrouve le plus souvent entouré d'un maquis de hauteur variable composé de bruyère (*Erica arborea*) et d'arbousier (*Arbutus unedo*) ainsi que de ciste cotonneux (*Cistus albidus*), de lentisque pistachier (*Pistacia lentiscus*), Genêts oroméditerranéen (*Cytisus oromediterraneus*) et genêt épineux (*Calicotome spinosa*), qui forment à eux seuls la majorité de la végétation comprise entre l'étage thermo-méditerranéen et l'étage montagnard. Cette végétation peut former de moyennes entités de sous-bois, voire une entité de buissons pouvant atteindre deux mètres de haut et quasiment impénétrable pour le cas du genêt épineux (*Calicotome spinosa*). L'oleastre (*Olea europaea sylvestris*) se situe un peu partout sur le territoire privilégiant l'étage méso-méditerranéen, tout comme la ronce commune (*Rubus fruticosus*) qui constitue soit des bosquets soit des haies infranchissables. Le hêtre commun (*Fagus sylvatica*) et le chataigner (*Castanea sativa*), se disséminent un peu partout au sein de cette micro-région sans vraiment former une réelle couverture importante sauf pour les communes de l'intérieure des terres. La région de Piana offre, quant à elle, une complexité végétale étonnante, notamment avec la présence supplémentaire du pin maritime (*Pinus pinaster*).

Les occupations pré- et protohistoriques

Au regard des résultats archéologiques, l'île est occupée par l'Homme au moins dès le Mésolithique. La répartition de ces sites est majoritairement regroupée à proximité du littoral dans l'extrême Sud de l'île et aux environs du Cap Corse. Cet état peut être lié aux études de terrain qui se sont intensifiées dans ces zones ou en raison d'un choix d'implantation des hommes sur ces rivages. Pour l'heure, la datation la plus ancienne du Mésolithique insulaire provient du site du Monte Leone (Bonifacio, Corse-du-Sud) dont l'analyse par radiocarbone des charbons, entreprise en 2009, conclut à une fourchette chronologique comprise entre 9739 et 8633 BC (Voir Graziani 2013, 43). On peut aussi citer les sites de Campu Stefanu (Sollacaro, Corse-du-Sud), et celui l'Araguina Senola lui aussi sur la commune de Bonifacio.

Par ailleurs, il faut signaler la découverte de fragments de silex, non présents sur l'île, sur le site de Punta Canisjonu (Monacia d'Aullène, Corse-du-Sud) qui tend à démontrer un échange avec l'Europe méditerranéenne continentale ou avec la proche Sardaigne dont un gisement existe dans le bassin de Perfugas (Bressy-Leandri 2012, 41-42).

Le Néolithique marque un rythme d'échanges culturels et économiques souligné par la naissance du mégalithisme et de l'importation de matières premières tel que l'obsidienne. Encore une fois la présence de mobilier céramique est marquée par des influences sardes et d'Italie septentrionale. Toutefois ces éléments sont en nette minorité au sein de la culture céramique insulaire.

C'est dans les environs du site d'Aleria qu'a été réalisée l'une des plus importantes découvertes insulaires, grâce aux travaux de G. Camps sur le site de Terrina dont le toponyme donne le nom à la culture préhistorique locale le «Terrinien» qui se développe entre 3500 et 3000 av. J.-C. Les activités pastorales et d'élevages y sont largement attestées. Dans un rayon de 25 km autour du site, sept gisements cuprifères sont présents. Selon G. Camps (1988): «l'analyse des éléments de métal (...) a révélé les mêmes impuretés et caractéristiques que les minerais de Linguizetta, gisement de cuivre situé à 16 km au Nord.»

Au cours de l'âge du Bronze, la Corse développe de nouveau sa Culture. En effet dans le Sud de l'île, l'édification de *Torre* et de *Castelli* est très largement répandue dans cette zone géographique. Ces monuments occupent majoritairement des positions stratégiques, tels que des buttes ou des sommets dont la domination visuelle reste un atout majeur. Outre le fait d'être en position défensive sur ces hauteurs, ils sont aussi marqués par leur situation à proximité de chemins.

Néanmoins, c'est surtout l'élévation de statues-menhirs (Fig. 49), un peu partout sur l'île, notamment au cours de l'âge du Bronze final, qui marque jusqu'au début de l'âge du Fer, la singularité des occupants de l'île. Ces dernières nommées au singulier *Stantara*, trouvant un pluriel *Stantare* ou *Stantari* selon les régions, se déclinent au moins en deux groupes: les statues avec armure ou celles avec un torse nu,¹ toutes deux pouvant être ou non armées d'épée. La symbolique de ces mégalithes reste encore une énigme. On peut les observer dans des alignements ou simplement isolées. Il faut spécifier que pour cette période, la région du Niolo et surtout l'extrême Sud de la Corse ont fait l'objet des premières recherches; de fait, notre connaissance sur cette culture insulaire dépend en grande partie de ces zones qui ont été privilégiées par les scientifiques.

La Corse se détache alors des autres cultures protohistoriques, mais elle répond toujours aux besoins d'importation de matières premières tel que les métaux. Même si l'île regorge de ressources minières, il faut toutefois attendre des techniques plus avancées pour pouvoir accéder à ces dernières. Notons que la Corse ne possède pas de gisement stannifère servant à la confection du bronze. Archéologiquement, l'élément d'importation le plus intéressant reste le lingot de cuivre dit en peau de bœuf



Fig. 49. Exemple de statue menhir corse (statue menhir de Cambia, Haute-Corse).

découvert au lieu-dit Santa Anastasia dans la plaine de la Marana (Borgo, Haute-Corse). Cette découverte, réalisée en 1987, a fait l'objet d'une première étude en 2001, par P. Arcelin, qui ne détermine pas de provenance précise mais plutôt trois zones supposées à savoir: la Syrie, Chypre et l'Égée. La datation est comprise entre le XVI^e siècle av. J.-C. pour les exemplaires crétois les plus anciens et le XI^e siècle av. J.-C. pour les productions les plus récentes (Lo Schiavo 2013, 15-32).

Histoire «politique» de la Corse vue par les sources antiques.

Il convient de souligner que les recherches les plus abouties sur les textes antiques et les données épigraphiques ont été réalisées dans le cadre de thèses de doctorat, respectivement, par Jehasse (1985), publiée et revue et par Michel (2011) dont les résultats sont plus récents. Cette partie de l'article permet d'entrevoir les dates les plus importantes de la chronologie de l'étude présentée, ainsi que les éléments clés connus pour la conquête romaine de l'île.

Malgré les lacunes archéologiques, l'histoire apporte un éclairage partiel sur le passé de l'île. Théra,² Kyrnos, Korsica ou encore Kallistè, sont bien des noms qui sont attribués à l'île de Corse. Il ne semble pas nécessaire d'énumérer, ici, les multiples déclinaisons des différents noms qui lui sont accordés puisque ce travail ferait l'objet d'une étude spécifique. Les documents antiques qui décrivent la Corse, sa géographie, ses occupants, la société ou encore son Histoire, sont intéressants, mais n'offrent qu'une vision simpliste et souvent contradictoire avec d'autres textes antiques qui leur sont contemporains ou non. L'exemple des descriptions de Diodore de Sicile et de Strabon, décrivant tous deux au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. et au I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C. la Corse, présentent deux visions³ complètement opposées l'une de l'autre. Diodore propose alors une approche plus que positive alors que Strabon offre une vision de désolation complète.

La localisation géographique de l'île au sein de la méditerranée occidentale lui confère une position stratégique, pour qui désire avoir le contrôle de la mer Tyrrhénienne, mais aussi un accès rapide aux côtes de la France méridionale et de l'Italie septentrionale. La partie orientale de l'île joue alors un rôle important sur un point tactique, pour la maîtrise partielle ou totale de l'axe tyrrhénien. La zone comprise entre les bouches de Bonifacio et le Cap Corse est alors un secteur sensible. Il est de fait impératif pour les populations de l'Étrurie de préserver ce territoire sous leur contrôle sous peine de devoir partager la voie Tyrrhénienne en deux. Le fait d'imposer leur thalassocratie sur cette partie de la Méditerranée tant sur le point militaire mais surtout économique engendre une stabilité géo-politico-économique, basée sur des traités commerciaux, notamment ceux passés avec Carthage dont les forces sont toutes aussi redoutables.

Grecs et Étrusques commercent avec la Corse, du moins avec une partie de l'île, dès le VII^e siècle av. J.-C. (Gras 1993, 105-106), comme en témoigne la découverte de céramique. Environ trente-cinq ans après la fondation de Marseille, vers 565, que les Phocéens viennent s'installer sur la partie orientale de la Corse fuyant les invasions perses. C'est en s'y installant que les Grecs donnent alors à ce petit comptoir une plus

grande importance, devenant alors une cité, se dénommant Alalia ou Alalié (Aleria). Les Grecs se livrent à la piraterie sur les côtes étrusques, notamment contre la cité de Caere, mais aussi sur les comptoirs et navires puniques de Sardaigne, comme Hérodote le précise.

Une coalition étrusco-carthaginoise vient mettre en évidence les tensions avec les grecs, formant eux aussi une entité importante du commerce méditerranéen. La population de leur colonie se voit croître de façon constante, notamment après la perte de Phocée, quand les Perses s'attaquent alors aux cités grecques de la côte égéenne vers 546-545.

La bataille navale d'Alalia, vers 540-535, eut lieu selon Hérodote, en mer Sardonienne. Cette dernière offre aux Grecs une «victoire à la Cadméeenne», au cours de cette dernière, soixante navires grecs font face à cent vingt navires de la coalition étrusco-carthaginoise. Mais cette bataille les contraint à partir de Corse, bien qu'ils parviennent à repousser l'alliance. Les Étrusques prennent alors possession de la Corse. Selon Michel (2011, 39): «Il est probable que, liée à Caere, Aleria ait suivi la fortune des armes ou des traités. En effet, de la fin du V^e siècle jusqu'au milieu du IV^e siècle, l'alliance est étroite entre Rome et Caere. Les deux villes ont signé un traité d'hospitium mutuel et Rome a donné à Caere la *civitas sine suffragio*.»

Après un bouleversement politique au sein de l'Étrurie ayant un lien direct avec Rome, Caere se retrouve alors impliqué dans les révoltes «anti-romaines». Une guerre éclate entre Tarquinia et Rome en 357 et se termine en 352 après une demande de paix en 353. En 306 un traité naît entre Carthage et Rome. Ce dernier fait promettre aux Romains de ne pas intervenir ni en Sicile ni en Corse, Carthage ne devant pas intercéder sur l'Italie. Les Carthaginois investissent certainement Aleria assez rapidement. Au cours de la première guerre punique, ils projettent d'investir le Latium depuis la Sardaigne et la Corse en 259. C'est à cette initiative que Rome décide l'envoi de troupes en Corse cette même année. Lucius Cornelius Scipion s'empare de l'île et de la cité avant de poursuivre sa route vers la Sardaigne. Cette victoire sera inscrite⁴ sur son sarcophage, ce qui démontre bien l'importance que cela peut avoir.

En 235, la Sardaigne et la Corse sont entre les mains de Rome et ne formeront alors qu'une seule province à la suite de plusieurs actions militaires. À plusieurs reprises la Corse se révolte. Rome y effectue plusieurs actions notamment en 181, 173, 163 et 162. C'est après la dernière expédition de 111, que Caius Marius fonde une colonie de vétérans dans le cadre de la *Lex Appuleia*, vers 100, près de l'embouchure du Golo, au nord de la plaine orientale, au sein d'un secteur géographique privilégié. Mariana est établie. Au cours du I^{er} siècle avant notre ère, la Corse semble se trouver au centre des enjeux du pouvoir Romain. Plusieurs auteurs antiques, notamment de Pline l'Ancien, Solin et Sénèque mentionnent cette ville.

En 80, Sylla fonde la Colonie d'Aleria. Vers 46, César se rend lui-même en Sardaigne puis en Corse, Aleria prenant ainsi le nom de Colonia Iula Aleria. La Corse ne joue par la suite qu'un intérêt politico-stratégique comme le souligne Michel (2011, 41-42): «Cependant, malgré la mise en place de colonies de vétérans, on ne note que peu

d'efforts pour faire entrer la Corse dans la romanité autrement que comme l'appui de politiques personnelles. Durant les guerres civiles, prise entre Marius et Sylla, César et Pompée, Octavien et Sextus Pompée, la Corse est un enjeu stratégique et politique où il est difficile de distinguer ce qu'il se passe autrement que sous le prisme des villes principales. Du reste, le fait que les gouverneurs résident à Karales (Cagliari) ne permet pas d'envisager clairement quelle a été la politique romaine en ce qui concerne la Corse elle-même. Sous l'Empire, l'envoi de gouverneurs en Corse ne favorisera pas davantage les progrès de la romanisation.»

Rome n'atteint le contrôle de la mer Méditerranée qu'avec l'annexion de l'Égypte par Octave en 30.

Nouvelles argumentations archéologiques

L'organisation du peuplement de la Corse antique

L'origine des populations insulaires a fait couler beaucoup d'encre. Libyens, Ibères, Phéniciens, Tyrrhéniens, Grecs et Carthaginois auraient occupés l'île avant l'arrivée des Romains. Une étude sur la génétique entreprise par David (1999), dans le cadre de son doctorat, propose une segmentation particulière de la Corse dans son contexte méditerranéen ainsi que des populations locales. Selon l'auteur (1999, 70): «Si l'on considère le cadre méditerranéen, on constate que, dans l'arbre obtenu par average linkage, l'Afrique du Nord se comporte comme un groupe externe (figure 18c). La Sardaigne quant à elle, se branche sur une trichotomie. Celle-ci comprend un premier ensemble formé par les diverses régions italiennes et la Grèce, un deuxième constitué par la Provence, les Baléares et la Catalogne, la troisième branche correspondant uniquement à la Corse. Sur 1000 boot strap l'association Corse-Sardaigne ne s'est jamais manifestée.»⁵

La description de l'île par Strabon, faite deux siècles après le début de la conquête, semble intéressante. En effet, il emploie deux termes bien spécifiques, en parlant de la présence de «quelques forts», d'*Oikesima* et de *Polismata* (Strabon V, 2, 7). La mention de «forts» est certainement le fruit d'une persistance de quelques résidus d'habitats traditionnels toujours occupés.

L'*Oikesima* renvoie très certainement à la fonction productive, alors que la *Polismata* est plus vraisemblablement axée sur la dénomination de centre politique. Il faut attendre la description de Ptolémée au II^e siècle de notre ère pour apercevoir de nouvelles dénominations, divisant alors les habitats en *Komai* et *Poleis* autrement dit en bourgs et cités. Il comptabilise quarante-trois agglomérations dont la moitié est côtière et reconnaît vingt-huit «cités-Poleis⁶» en plus des deux colonies, Aleria et Mariana. Il concède aussi douze tribus vivant à l'intérieur des terres. Pline l'Ancien, au cours du I^{er} siècle de notre ère, comptabilise trente-deux cités en plus des deux colonies sans distinction particulière. De plus au V^e apr. J.-C., Martianus Capella comptabilise trente-trois cités (Jehasse 2003, 216). Il est important ici de souligner que le nombre de site, dont la taille est variable, varie autour du chiffre trente.

Pour comprendre ces variations, je propose une multiplication simple de trois fois douze. En effet la multiplication du nombre de peuple vivant sur l'île par le chiffre trois qui est le nombre de *castelli*,⁷ «villes», insulaires regroupées sur un secteur géographique. Le résultat est égal à trente-six. Cela peut ainsi nous aider à définir un nombre de *Poleis* pour une tribue.

Les travaux effectués sur la géographie de la Corse de Ptolémée sont relativement nombreux. Ces derniers ont été réalisés par des chercheurs comme J. Jehasse, L. Jehasse, O. Jehasse, Moracchini-Mazel et Pasqualaggi. Ces derniers reprennent notamment les travaux effectués par A. Berthelot et F. Ceccaldi entrepris en 1939, mais aussi des sources anciennes comme celles de Cluvier (1624), et de Cerneu (1447–1506). Il est aussi observable que ces auteurs se reprennent les uns les autres sans vraiment apporter de véritables propositions de placement des sites archéologiques, avec comme simple argument l'interprétation toponymique additionnée au fait qu'il y ait un site antique existant ou supposé, à proximité de l'emplacement défini par la toponymie, prenant le plus souvent en compte les latitudes et les longitudes définies par Claude Ptolémée. Par exemple Morrachini-Mazel (1989, 33–34) définit l'emplacement de *Σερμίτιον*, qu'elle orthographie Sermigion, sur le site de Castellare (Punta Castellu) sur la commune de Letia, en y voyant une aire à feu qui serait visible depuis la mer pour signaler le site. Toutefois il s'agit dans le cas de ce site de vestiges d'une structure turriforme de l'âge du Bronze, dont la superficie du site, comprenant les effondrements, est nettement inférieure à 150 m².

Il faut souligner que les longitudes ne connaîtront une véritable utilité qu'avec l'invention par Harrison en 1736. De plus les sites et les emplacements définis par ces auteurs étaient tous tirés vers le sud de l'île. Il faut retenir que cette partie de l'île a offert de nombreux vestiges aux archéologues mais aussi en raison de la concentration des recherches dans ce secteur.

La cartographie, de la Corse de Claude Ptolémée semble refléter une situation de la Corse assez ancienne additionnée à celle de son temps. Mais il est possible d'en tirer des conclusions. Aujourd'hui je dispose d'assez d'éléments, qui seront traités par la suite, pour offrir à sept sites le statut défini comme «*Poleis*». En effet avec une déduction et une comparaison des différentes sources interprétant les données cartographiques de Ptolémée avec la position des sites sur les cartes actuelles il est possible de réattribuer le nom des *Poleis* du géographe d'Alexandrie. Les représentations connues sont toutes déformées, elles représentent une forme exagérée des côtes insulaires; cela se comprend car depuis la mer cet effet est visible. Cependant l'espacement et le regroupement des sites sur les plans anciens correspondent à la répartition géographique des *castelli* observés sur le terrain. Au cours des différentes études que j'ai menées, il a été possible de démontrer l'importance archéologique des sites principaux. De plus il serait alors difficile de trouver des sites plus imposants que ces derniers au sein de leur région respective.

Pour cela je propose ici de définir les noms antiques de sept sites. Voici les noms donnés en grec et en latin (Fig. 50):

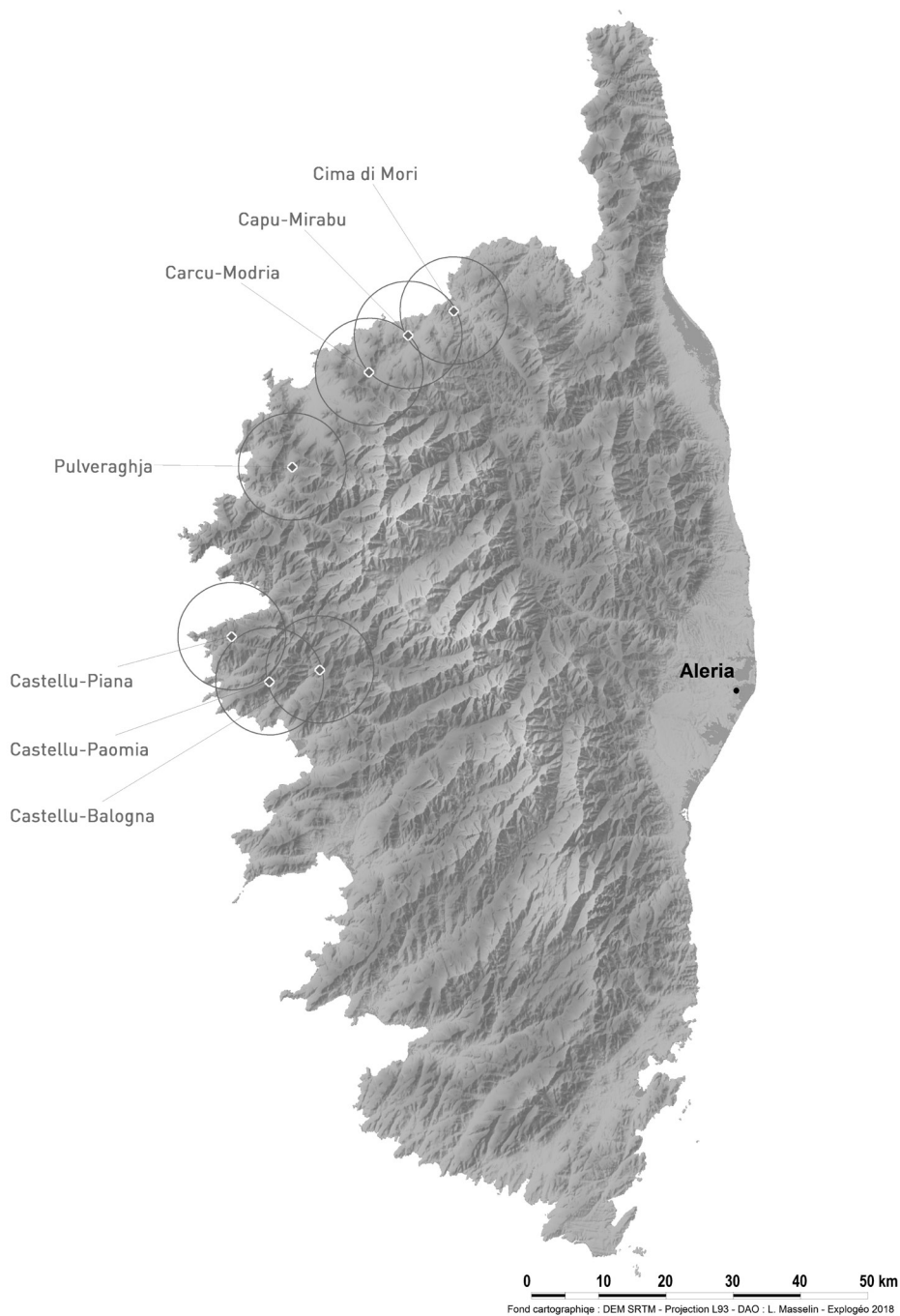


Fig. 50. Cartes de répartition des sites principaux entourés d'une zone de 8 kilomètres (D. A. O. L. Masselin explogéo).

Castellu-Balogna: Μόρα / Mora,
 Castellu-Paomia: Οὔρκίνιοη / Vrcinivm,
 Castellu-Piana: Σερμίτιοη / Sermitivm,
 Pulveraghja: Αλοῦκα / Alvca,
 Carcu-Modria: Πάλαντα / Palanta,
 Capu Mirabu: Ρωπικον / Ropicvm,
 Cima di Mori: Κέρσουνον / Cersvnm.

Etude de cas: de la fortification à l'habitat

Pour plus de clarté et dans le but de proposer une synthèse, seuls les deux sites ayant au moins fait l'objet de sondages sont décrits plus précisément. Les autres sites ont fait l'objet de visite d'une à deux journées chacun afin de pouvoir observer le mobilier au sol ainsi que les vestiges immobiliers, composé murs et de remparts, pour comparer les techniques architecturales.

Le castellu de Paomia (Cargèse, Corse-du-Sud)(Fig. 51)

L'étude archéologique du site de Castellu était motivée par les vestiges de l'enceinte et la quantité de mobilier céramique visible en surface. L'investigation a permis de fournir d'une part, une lecture stratigraphique partielle du site, avec des niveaux stratigraphiques qui varient entre 0, 30 et plus de 2 mètres, et d'autre part, des informations sur la chronologie d'occupation. On note donc que l'occupation du III^e-II^e siècle avant J.-C. est nettement attestée, notamment, par la découverte d'une monnaie de type Victoria et de fragments d'amphores de type Dressel 1A. Les résultats archéologiques ont également permis de mettre au jour des aménagements dont la vision partielle, causée par une étude par sondage, ne permet pas d'en comprendre la fonction. Autre élément à considérer, c'est une éventuelle réoccupation ou continuité de fréquentation du site au cours du bas-Empire. En effet, trois éléments plaident en faveur de cette proposition (voir étude du mobilier).

Les données acquises permettent d'assurer qu'il s'agit d'un habitat fortifié que je qualifie pour l'heure de corso-romanisé. L'occupation par une population insulaire ou des échanges avec elle ne peut être avancée que grâce à la découverte en prospection d'un fragment d'un bord de céramique avec un décor «ogival», qui pour l'heure est un décor inédit sur l'île. Malgré ces incertitudes, la superficie du site, ces vestiges d'enceinte et le mobilier métallique livré confèrent à Castellu-Paomia un statut privilégié au sein des habitats du second âge du Fer.

C'est le site fermé le plus imposant de la région d'étude. Il se caractérise par un cadre géographique qui se démarque par sa position en éperon dont la partie sommitale est située à 589 m d'altitude. Ce relief est marqué par la présence d'un col situé au Nord offrant le seul accès au site. Les versants Sud-Ouest et Nord-Ouest sont constitués par des pentes, au fort dénivelé. Le ruisseau du Baghju, affluent du Bubbja, est l'élément qui caractérise le fossé séparant la partie Sud du site des autres reliefs.



Fig. 51. Vue aerienne du site de Castellu-Paomia (cliché D. Martinetti).

Le système hydrologique est complété par un autre affluent saisonnier, situé sur le col, conférant ainsi à ce dernier une configuration en plateau. La position du site lui offre une vue imprenable sur la mer, s'étalant de la Punta Pozzo Di Borgo au golfe de Topiti. Le golfe de Sagone est masqué comme la zone de Cargèse dont la visibilité est obstruée par le Capu a Merula s'élevant à 701 m d'altitude. Le couvert végétal présent à Castellu, établi sur environs de 3,5 ha, est essentiellement composé d'un sous-bois dense s'étendant sur un peu plus de 80% de sa superficie.

Le site se démarque par d'importants effondrements de pierres de dimensions moyennes. Ils témoignent de la présence de plusieurs éléments de fortifications, obstruant tous les accès possible depuis le col. Cette configuration permet d'attribuer au site l'appellation d'éperon barré. On dénombre au moins trois enceintes successives dont les élévations actuelles ne dépassent pas 1,20 m. La présence d'une quatrième peut être envisagée en raison de l'existence de l'arase d'un mur dans la partie basse du site. Cependant, un ébouli recouvre cette structure ce qui ne permet pas d'en réaliser une lecture claire et exhaustive.

Les enceintes sont successives de forme curviligne et leurs fondations reposent directement au contact de la roche en place, comblant et s'appuyant sur les failles des barres rocheuses quand cela est possible, tout en respectant les courbes de niveau et l'orographie. La technique de construction correspond à l'emploi de moellons montés en pierres sèches sans l'utilisation de cailloutis. Les murs sont à double parements, 0,60 à 0,80 m d'épaisseur, dont les éléments sont disposés en boutisse et

panneresse, la position en carreau est aussi employée mais elle est beaucoup moins présente. Des murs de terrassement sont observables sur l'ensemble du site. La hauteur de leur conservation peut dans certains cas dépasser 1,50 m. Ces derniers sont de même facture que les enceintes. Par ailleurs, au moins cinq structures, de plan quadrangulaire, sont visibles sur environ 1,70 m de hauteur. La technique de construction ne varie pas, il s'agit toujours de l'utilisation de pierres sèches disposées sans aucune ordonnance. À proximité de ces structures, du mobilier archéologique attribué aux périodes moderne et contemporaine est visible en surface.

Le castellu de Piana (Piana, Corse-du-Sud) (Fig. 52)

Comme pour le site de Castellu-Paomia, celui de Piana se démarque par sa situation orographique et par ces effondrements de rempart. L'opération de sondage mené en 2014 a permis de mettre en évidence une réoccupation au cours du second moyen-âge sur la partie sommitale du site (Fig. 50). La découverte d'une structure, de fonction encore inconnue, sur un replat isolé du site, a livré des informations plus que satisfaisantes. En effet, l'utilisation de la *tegula*, de clou de fer et de bronze, y est attestée. La datation de cette couche par radio-carbone a livrée une fourchette chronologique comprise entre 355 et 285 av. J.-C. Cela tend à démontrer que certaines occupations indigènes changent radicalement de technique de construction.



Fig. 52. Vue de Castellu de Piana, rempart Nord-Ouest.

La position du site se distingue par son orographie; il s'agit d'une même entité orographique divisée en deux éperons reliés par un col. Les vestiges de l'occupation antique sont localisés sur l'éperon Nord s'élevant à 579 m d'altitude. De fortes ruptures de pentes sont présentes sur le pourtour du site, et elles sont généralement caractérisées par le substrat apparent. Au pied Sud de l'éperon Nord, serpente le cours d'eau l'Andola rejoignant plus loin le Fiuminale pour former le petit fleuve d'Arone. Trois autres cours d'eaux saisonniers viennent compléter ce système hydrographique, notamment au Nord-Ouest, le Petra Grisgia et deux autres, au Nord-Est et Sud-Ouest, venant alimenter celui de l'Andola. La domination visuelle maritime est limitée entre Punta a i Tuselli et Capu Rossu. À l'inverse, le contrôle visuel terrestre est plus vaste; il comprend l'essentiel des zones planes de la région de Piana à savoir San Ghjustu, Santa Fiora, Canapaghja, San Marcello, San Martinu, Aculaghja, Bocca Lavu et San Ghjabicu.

Le site est recouvert par un maquis bas et très dense. On note une quasi absence de sous-bois qui est certainement engendrée par la fréquente présence de chèvres entretenant une végétation basse.

Sur la face Nord du site, un important effondrement, composé majoritairement de moellons, est visible. Celui-ci permet de clôturer l'accès au site depuis le col. Ce témoin, de vestiges d'un système de fortification, clôturerait tout accès possible depuis le Nord. Cette configuration orographique et bâtie permet d'attribuer au site la désignation d'éperon barré.

On dénombre trois enceintes successives visibles dont les élévations actuelles ne dépassent pas 1 m de hauteur dont l'épaisseur des murs est comprise entre 0,60 et 0,80 m. Les enceintes, présentant un plan concentrique et curviligne, sont édifiées directement sur le substrat employant dès que possible les failles rocheuses. Les constructions respectent l'orographie et les courbes de niveau. La présence d'une quatrième peut être envisagée mais on ne peut que la supposer en raison de son arasement et de son recouvrement total par des éboulis. La technique de construction correspond à l'emploi de moellons montés en pierres sèches sans l'emploi de cailloutis. Les murs sont à double parement dont les éléments sont disposés en panneresse et en boutisse, employant parfois la disposition en carreau. L'ensemble du site, s'étalant sur 2,5 ha, comprend plusieurs murs servant à l'aplanissement de zones accidentées (Fig. 53). Ces derniers présentent des élévations allant de l'arasement complet à 1,50 m de hauteur, manifestant les mêmes techniques de constructions que les enceintes.

Les autres sites (Table 2)

Présentons maintenant d'autres sites qui s'inscrivent dans ce réseau d'occupation. Ces sites sont présentés dans le tableau ci-dessous.

Il faut signaler qu'aucun de ces sites n'est resté vierge et présentent les stigmates de réoccupations au moins au milieu de l'époque moderne au milieu du XX^e siècle. Il s'agit dans la plupart des cas de réoccupations à vocation agricole notamment

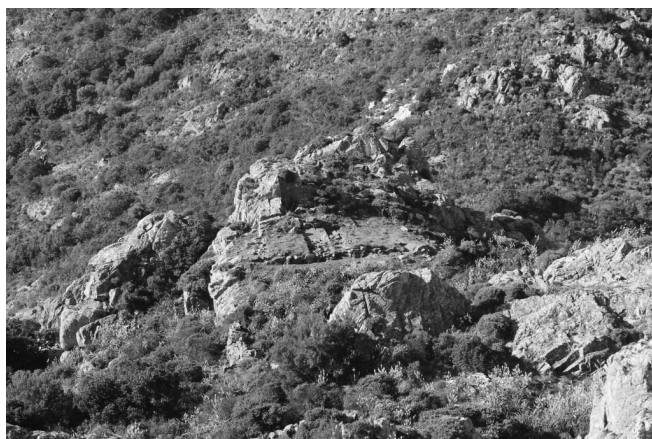


Fig. 53. Structure, en cours de fouille, zone aplanie, Castellu-Piana.

Table 2: Indications orographique et chronologiques sur les sites similaires prospectés.

	Castellu-Balogna	Pulveraghja	Carcu-Modria	Capu Mirabu	Cima di Mori
Altitude	641 m	330 m	431 m	257 m	219 m
Orographie	Crête	Replat	Butte	Butte	Butte
Superficie	1,5 ha	2,7 ha	2,5 ha	1,2 ha	0,65 ha[1]
Chronologie	IV ^e s. av. J.-C. au V ^e s. apr. J.-C.	III ^e s. av. J.-C. au II ^e s. apr. J.-C.	III ^e s. av. J.-C. au III ^e s. apr. J.-C.	III ^e s. av. J.-C. au III ^e s. apr. J.-C.	III ^e s. av. J.-C. au II ^e s. apr. J.-C.

céréalière, mais aussi d'exploitation de charbonnières. Dans le cas du site de Carcu-Modria, il a été occupé au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale par l'armée italienne.

Le point commun entre ces sites en plus de la chronologie d'occupation, est l'architecture des élévations. Bien que des structures, liées à l'habitat, n'ont pas été retrouvées, les murs de soutènement ou d'aplanissement de terrain ainsi que les remparts possèdent les mêmes méthodes de construction. Les caractéristiques de construction sont similaires, utilisant des moellons bruts dont certains font l'objet d'un équarrissement léger. Ils sont en pierres sèches à double parement dont leur position est mixte et répond aux dispositions panneresse et boutisse employant parfois la position en carreau, mais cela ne se manifeste que rarement. On note que toutes les constructions observées sont construites directement sur le substrat. En ce qui concerne les remparts, on en distingue deux types. Ils sont chacun définis par la morphologie du lieu d'implantation. Le premier type correspond aux remparts successifs, dont l'épaisseur est d'environ 0,80 m servant à clôturer des reliefs tels que les éperons, les replats et les crêtes. Dans ces cas, on observe comme pour le site de Pulveraghja une entrée en chicane où chaque ouverture, en forme de couloir, dans le rempart est décalée par rapport à l'autre. Le second type ceinture le site faisant le

tour complet du relief. L'épaisseur du rempart varie entre 1,30 m et 1,50 m. Seuls les murs de terrassement ou d'aplanissement font office de rupture de pente ajoutant une défense supplémentaire, mais cela est aussi valable pour l'autre type de fortification. Il faut noter que dans le cas de ces fortifications en butte, l'accès à la partie sommitale se fait par des rampes décalées les unes des autres, aménagées au sein des murs de terrassement. La géographie d'implantation, n'est pas anodine puisqu'elle maîtrise forcément un col, domine visuellement les chemins environnants et les secteurs facilement cultivable tel que les plaines. Pour la majorité de ces fortifications la vue sur la façade maritime et la mer est attestée.

Le site de Castellu-Balogna présente une caractéristique intéressante puisque le site se prolonge extra-muros sur plus de 10ha de pentes aménagées. En raison du grand nombre d'abris sous roche observés, il se pourrait que l'espace funéraire soit compris dans cet ensemble.

La découverte de mobilier (Fig. 54) dont la provenance est entièrement italique et la forte présence de fragments de *tegulae* sont aussi des points communs supplémentaires, faisant apparaître un nouveau mode de vie.

D'autres sites dont les caractéristiques liées au mobilier, mais aussi à la géographie d'implantation et de constructions sont connus à savoir le site de Punta Ficaghjola (Alata, Corse-du-Sud), Sant'Anghjulu (Ajaccio Corse-du-Sud) et le site du Monte Cecu (Corte, Haut-Corse), qui pourrait être la ville indigène de *Talcini*.

La société corse vue à travers le mobilier

«Les importations sont un formidable révélateur des lieux de pouvoir chez les indigènes. On les dirait comme «aspirés» par le pouvoir local.»

(Gras 2004, 229).

Bien que pour l'heure le mobilier connu pour ces sites soit que de petite quantité, du moins pour les éléments exploitables, il n'en reste pas moins important. D'autre part c'est le site de Castellu-Paomia qui a livré le plus de mobilier, notamment métallique, mais ce dernier fut découvert par des pilliers à l'aide de détecteurs de métaux. Il a donc fallu mettre en œuvre une recherche sur le mobilier découvert et acquérir au moins une documentation photographique.

Pour les autres sites même si des observations de sondages clandestins ont été observés, il est impossible de connaître les découvertes réalisées.

Le mobilier céramique

Dans le cas des sites de Castellu-Paomia et Castellu-Piana, un comptage du mobilier céramique prélevé au cours des sondages révèle ce qui avait été possible d'observer sur

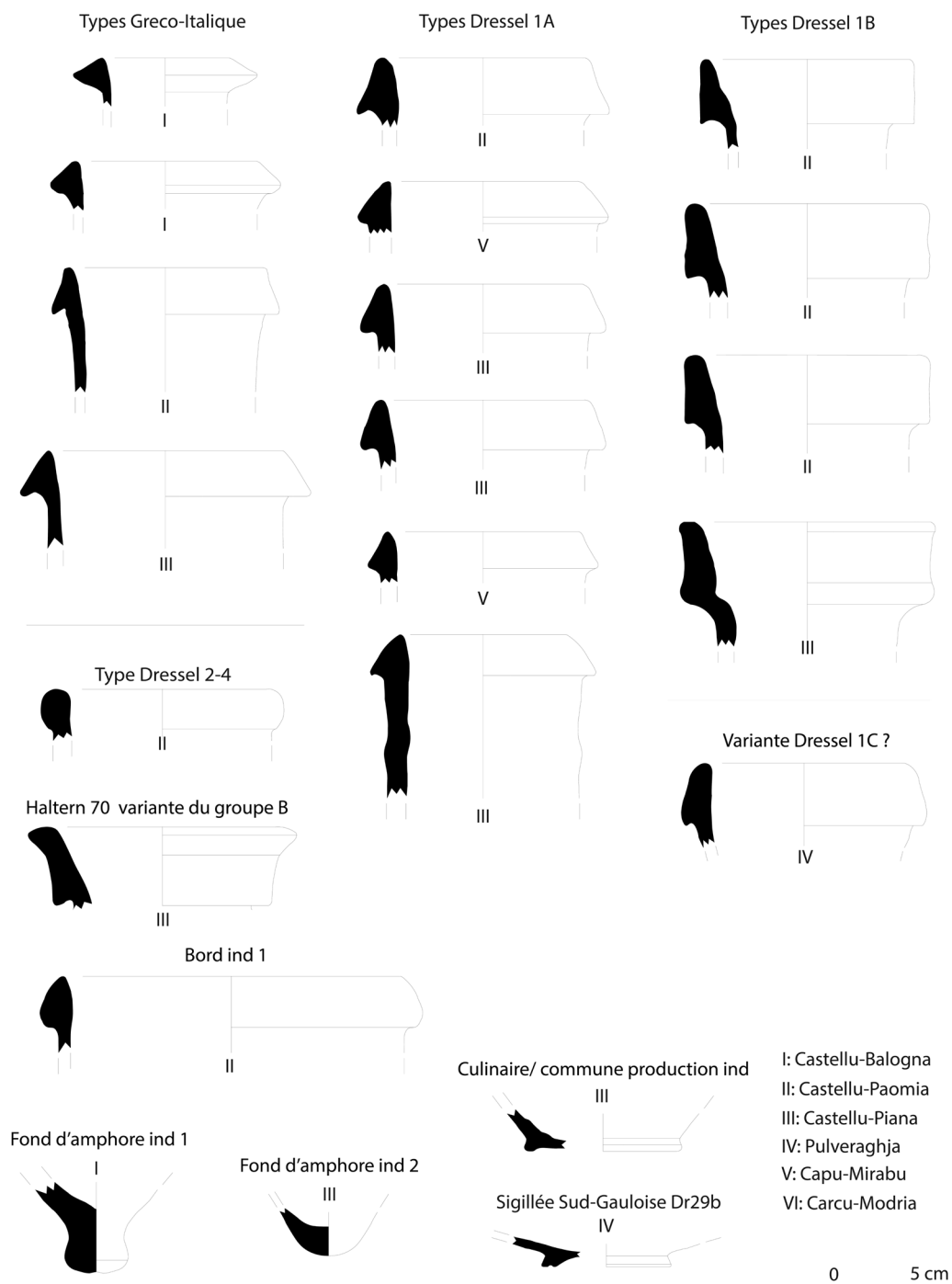


Fig. 54. Planche représentant quelques éléments découverts sur les sites principaux.

le terrain avant les opérations de sondage, à savoir une disproportion numérique entre le mobilier local et d'importation alors estimé à environ 90% de mobilier non indigène.

Sur le site de Castellu-Piana, au cours des sondages, 140 fragments de céramique ont été collectés, ils se répartissent de la manière suivante :

- sondage 1 : 14 de production locale soit 11 % et 115 d'importation soit 89 %
- sondage 2^e : 9 de production locale soit 82 % et 2 d'importation soit 18 %

Sur le site de Castellu-Paomia, au cours des sondages 82 fragments de céramique ont été collectés, ils se répartissent de la manière suivante :

- sondage 1 : 0 de production locale soit 0 % et 48 d'importation soit 100 %
- sondage 2 : 1 de production locale soit 9 % et 10 d'importation soit 91 %
- sondage 3 : 0 de production locale soit 0 % et 22 d'importation soit 100 %
- sondage 4 : 0 de production locale soit 0 % et 1 d'importation soit 100 %

La céramique locale

Même si la thèse de doctorat de K. Pêche-Quilicchini reste une étude novatrice, la céramique locale de l'âge du Fer⁹ insulaire reste encore peu exploitée dont les chronologies et les typologies restent encore à définir.

De manière générale, la céramique locale modelée, observée sur ces sites peut être confectionnée selon la méthode au colombin ou bien à partir d'une boule d'argile à partir de laquelle le potier va confectionner la forme souhaitée. Le traitement des parois semble se limiter à un lissage réalisé à l'aide d'un galet. En revanche, cette céramique n'est pas systématiquement privée de décor. Les motifs identifiés sur les tessons examinés sont cannelés, peignés et sur d'autres l'application de cordons.

La coloration des pâtes des céramiques locales illustre majoritairement une cuisson réductrice, en effet les céramiques ont un cœur noir ou grisâtre et des surfaces variant entre du brun foncé et du noir. La cuisson oxydante a aussi été observée. De manière générale, la pâte de la céramique locale est dure et compacte, elle est constituée d'argile à laquelle des inclusions granitiques sont ajoutées. Les fibres d'amiante ne sont pas exclues comme en témoigne un fragment de bord dans la pâte duquel de légères fibres sont visibles à l'œil nu. La présence de ce dégraissant est très intéressante car outre le fait que les gisements d'amiante soient essentiellement dans le nord de la Corse, zone schisteuse, l'amiante a pour propriété une meilleure résistance aux chocs thermiques.

Par ailleurs, la découverte d'un tesson en prospection sur le site U Gruttone (Osani, Corse-du-Sud) démontre que le dégraissant utilisé au sein des pâtes peut aider à cibler des régions précises dans le contexte insulaire. En effet, ce dernier comporte, directement dans la pâte, des traces de fer fondu. Cela peut être causé par le broyage de roche métallifère, comportant des inclusions importantes de métal, ce qui explique la présence de ce type de matières. Cette présence nous renseigne aussi sur la température de chauffe du four qui a cuit cet élément. Une céramique a besoin d'être cuite au minimum à environ 850°C, mais cela ne permet en aucun cas la fusion

du fer qui demande une température minimale de 1 538°C. Il se pourrait qu'il s'agisse ici d'un accident, toujours est-il que cela témoigne de la haute température du four.

On constate que la production de céramique modelée locale semble régresser au cours de l'Antiquité sans pour autant disparaître. Le manque de données sur la production de céramique locale de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Âge impose la plus grande prudence pour émettre une datation lorsque des sites ne comportent que ce type de production. Il faut considérer le fait qu'il puisse exister une perduration des formes et des décors comme cela est constaté pour les fibules insulaires. La découverte d'un entier archéologique sur le site de E Piazze 3 peut en être un exemple (Mary 2013a, 65–68) puisqu'il s'agit d'une forme inédite au vue des recherches actuelles. Au même tire, un tesson à décors en forme d'ogive a été découvert sur le site de Castellu-Paomia. Les caractéristiques plastiques, morphologiques et colorimétriques ainsi que le décor sont en tout point inédits dans l'espace insulaire. Au cours du mémoire de Master I, j'ai interprété ce dernier comme un bord, mais il se pourrait qu'il s'agisse en réalité d'un pied.

La céramique d'importation

La première catégorie, le type gréco-italique (Fig. 54), a été identifiée sur les sites de Castellu-Balogna, Castellu-Paomia et le Castellu-Piana. La découverte de ce mobilier sur ces trois sites fortifiés voisins ne doit pas être interprétée comme l'absence de céramique de type gréco-italique sur les autres fortifications. Rappelons que les opérations archéologiques se sont pour l'heure concentrées dans la région de Cargèse-Piana, une étude systématique sur les autres fortifications pourrait révéler la présence de ce mobilier.

La deuxième catégorie, le type Dressel 1A, a été découverte sur les sites de Castellu-Paomia, Castellu-Piana et à Capu-Mirabu ; ce mobilier est daté entre la seconde moitié du II^e av. J.-C. jusqu'à la période augustéenne. Ces dernières sont l'évolution directe du type gréco-italique, dont les variations typologiques sont importantes. L'attestation de ces éléments sur les sites montre une perduration du commerce vinicole entre la péninsule italienne et l'île.

La troisième catégorie, le type Dressel 1B, découverte notamment sur le site de Castellu-Paomia, est la preuve de la pérennisation d'échange de l'Italie romaine. Pour ces éléments notamment la Dressel 1B les imitations provenant du reste de la Méditerranée sont fréquentes.

La Dressel 2–4, dont le seul élément provient du site de Castellu-Paomia, succède chronologiquement aux Dressel 1 et vient alors les remplacer progressivement.

La céramique fine et culinaire est minoritaire parmi le mobilier d'importation. On note qu'en moyenne deux fragments de petites dimensions de céramique campanienne ont été observés sur les sites. Enfin, la céramique sigillée n'a été remarquée que sur le site de Pulveraghja, Il s'agit d'un fond qui est attribué aux productions Sud-Gauloise, de type SIG-SG Dr29b, dont la chronologie varie autour de 40 à 90 apr. J.-C.

Les éléments de céramique campanienne A, B et C découverts sur les sites de Castellu-Balogna, Castellu-Paomia, Castellu-Piana, Pulveraghja et Carcu-Modria, sont de petites dimensions et ne s'apparentent pas à des formes caractéristiques pouvant être utiles à une comparaison typologique. Cependant la couleur de la pâte peut aider à offrir une orientation sur le lieu de production ainsi qu'une chronologie. Sur les sites de Castellu-Balogna, Castellu-Paomia et de Castellu-Piana, on note que la pâte est plus apparentée à la catégorie B. L'argile est définie comme jaune chamois et le vernis noir bleuté contrairement à la catégorie C dont la pâte est grise. Ces deux catégories sont abondamment imitées à travers l'Occident. La catégorie B semble être imitée en Campanie du Nord et dans le Latium méridionale et peut-être en milieu ibérique. La catégorie A, produite dès le IV^e av. J.-C., connaît une grande exportation dans le courant de la fin du III^e siècle et le début du II^e siècle avant notre ère et commence à subir une nette régression à partir du début du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. à cause des productions B et C.

Les tegulae

Les *tegulae* observées sur les sites principaux sont de factures, de couleurs et de formes différentes (Fig. 55). Les bords sont tous différents les uns des autres et aucune pièce possédant ses deux bords même partiels n'a été retrouvée en prospection.

Celle qui intéresse le présent sujet a été découverte lors de l'opération de 2013 en prospectant le site de Castellu-Paomia, l'analyse a été réalisée par Michel. L'intérêt de cette dernière est le fait qu'elle comporte un timbre partiellement conservé. Il s'agit certainement d'une inscription du Bas-Empire, s'apparentant à un timbre espagnol. Ce genre de produit, pouvant être confectionné sur l'île, fait aussi l'objet d'importation. On peut donc se demander s'il s'agit ici d'un marqueur social? (Fig. 55)

L'inscription est la suivante:

L(uci) Aurunc(ulei) L(uci)

[---]unc(---) L(uci) s(ervus)

Traduction: (fabrication de) l'esclave de L(ucius) (Au?)runc(uleius ?).



Le mobilier métallique du Castellu de Paomia

Le Casque

Ce casque a été découvert lors d'une randonnée avec détecteur de métaux (Fig. 56). Il semble que cette pièce ne soit pas unique et que d'autres vestiges de

Fig. 55. Fragment de tegula avec timbre partiel découvert sur le site de Castellu-Paomia.



Fig. 56. Casque étrusco-italique exposé au musée de Sartène (Corse-du-Sud).

ce type auraient été découverts. Le seul qui nous soit parvenu est aujourd'hui conservé au musée de Sartène (Corse-du-Sud). Il provient vraisemblablement de l'espace funéraire, du site de Castellu-Paomia, qui n'a pas été encore bien localisé. La typologie de ce casque s'apparente aux casques étrusco-italiques dont la chronologie varie entre le second âge du Fer et la fin de la République romaine (Feugère 2011).

La plaque en bronze

Au cours de la seconde moitié des années 1990 sur le site de Castellu-Paomia, sept fragments d'une plaque de bronze avec des inscriptions en latin ont été découverts (Fig. 57). Seules des photographies me sont parvenues et un des sept fragments qui a pu faire l'objet d'une étude. Mais il est pour l'heure impossible de savoir si la plaque fut retrouvée entière, car les fouilleurs clandestins se sont partagé les fragments. Il s'agit principalement du côté droit et du centre du texte. Les lettres sont gravées et non incisées, comme il a été possible de le constater sur l'unique fragment observé. En raison de l'aspect lacunaire du texte, il est difficile de définir sa nature, bien qu'il semble s'agir d'un acte officiel.

Selon Michel (2011, 292) dans sa thèse de doctorat, il émet l'hypothèse qu'il puisse s'agir d'un acte de naturalisation collectif, pour la population installée à cet endroit et qu'elle soit d'époque claudienne (41-54) en raison du nombre de procès de naturalisation effectués sous Claude. Il faut noter que ce dernier n'avait alors eu accès qu'à des illustrations des fragments. Pour ma part, je pense qu'il s'agirait plutôt d'un texte émis à la fin de la république romaine, comme en témoigne la graphie et la facture du fragment observé. De plus ces morceaux ont été découverts avec un lot de monnaies dont la chronologie n'est pas postérieure au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.

Pour le fragment 1:

Ligne 2, troisième lettre supposée, il pourrait s'agir soit d'un P soit d'un R.

Ligne 5, la première lettre pourrait être soit un Q soit un O, il est probable que la première solution soit plus cohérente.

Pour le fragment 2:

Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'une partie centrale du texte. Le fragment semble mentionner la Corse à la quatrième ligne.

Ligne 4, la dernière lettre peut être soit un T soit un I.



Fig. 57. Fragments d'une plaque en Bronze du site de Castellu-Paomia.

Pour le fragment 3:

Ligne 5 il doit s'agir d'un P ou d'un R. La dernière lettre de la ligne finale peut être soit u I soit un L.

Pour le fragment 4:

Il semble que le fragment soit un morceau de l'extrémité du bas droit de la plaque. La compression des lettres pour former les derniers mots et l'absence de lettre sous la dernière ligne fait penser cela.

Ligne 2, la première lettre peut être un T, un L ou un I. mais la lettre T semble être un meilleur choix.

Pour le fragment 5:

Ligne unique, La première lettre est clairement un V alors que la seconde peut être un O, un Q ou un C mais on ne peut définir réellement sa forme.

Pour le fragment 6:

En raison de l'absence de lettre et du grand espacement entre le bord où se situent les deux dernières lignes, il s'agit de la partie basse, voir le bas gauche de la plaque.

Pour le Fragment 7:

Ligne 1, la Première lettre est clairement un R, la dernière pourrait être un C ou un O. le dernier choix semble être le plus intéressant.

Ligne 2, La première lettre semble être soit un T soit un E.

Le numéraire

Le lot découvert se compose de dix-huit monnaies, dont l'étude avait été confiée à Françoise¹⁰, elles sont décrites dans le tableau ci-dessous:

Table 3: Liste des monnaies découvertes sur le site Castellu-Paomia.

N°	Type	Autorité	Légende droit	Champ droit	Lettre de champ droit	Légende revers	Champ revers	Champs revers	Exergue	Date-tion av. J.-C.
1	as	République Romaine, C. LICINIVS L.F MACER	I au-dessus de la tête; à gauche (C.LICINI.L.F)	Tête de Janus lauré		(EX S.C et MACER)	Proue de navire sur laquelle se trouve un homme debout tenant une lance			84
2	as	République Romaine, Louvre et jumeaux	I au-dessus de la tête	Tête de Janus lauré		Louve allaitant les jumeaux	Proue à droite		ROMA	169–158
3	as	République Romaine	I au-dessus de la tête	Tête de Janus lauré			Proue à droite devant I		ROMA	206–195/121
4	as	République Romaine, M. ATILI SARAN	I au-dessus de la tête	Tête de Janus lauré		M.ATILI	Proue à droite		ROMA	148 av
5	as	République Romaine, L. SAVF	I au-dessus de la tête	Tête de Janus lauré		L.SAVF (V et F associés), I au-dessus	Proue à droite		ROMA	152 av
6	as	République Romaine, LENT.MAR.F	I au-dessus de la tête	Tête de Janus lauré		LENT.LAR.F (N couplé à T, L grec, A couplé à R)	Proue à droite devant I		ROMA	100
7	as	République Romaine	I au-dessus de la tête	Tête de Janus lauré			Proue à droite		ROMA	II-I
8	as	République Romaine	I au-dessus de la tête	Tête de Janus lauré			Proue à droite, I devant		ROMA	206–195/121

Table 3: Liste des monnaies découvertes sur le site Castellu-Paomia.

N°	Type	Autorité	Légende droit	Champ droit	Lettre de champ droit	Légende revers	Champ revers	Champs revers	Exergue	Date-tion av. J.-C.
9	as	République Romaine	I au-dessus de la tête	Tête de Janus lauré			Proue à droite, I devant		ROMA	206–195/121
10	as	République Romaine	I au-dessus de la tête	Tête de Janus lauré			Proue à droite, I devant		ROMA	206–195/121
11	as	République Romaine, LENT.MAR.F	I au-dessus de la tête	Tête de Janus lauré		(LENT). LAR.F (N couplé à T, L grec, A couplé à R)	Proue à droite devant triskeles		(ROMA)	100
12	moyen bronze	Mamertini		Zeus barbu à droite	II	ΜαμΕρτιvov	Soldat casqué debout de face jambes écartées tenant un bouclier de la main gauche et une lance			Post-288
13	moyen bronze	Espagne groupe Pyrénées (Basques-Aragon-Catalogne)?		Tête barbu à droite			Cavalier à droite tenant une lance, le cheval au galop			133–72.
14	tête de clou									
15	as	Auguste, Sex. Nonius Quintilianus	(CAESAR. AVG.VST. PONT.MAX. TRIBVNIC.)	Tête d'Auguste à droite		SEX.NONIVS. QVINCTILIAN. III.VIR.A.A.F	S C dans le centre			6

Table 3

N°	Type	Autorité	Légende droit	Champ droit	Lettre de champ droit	Légende revers	Champ revers	Champs revers	Exergue	Date-tion av. J.-C.
16	petit bronze	?								II-I
17	denier fourré	République Romaine, M.CIPI.M.F	M.CIPI.M.F	Tête casquée de Rome à droite, derrière la nuque X; l'ensemble dans un cercle de grénétis)			Victoire en bige, tenant les rênes en main droite et une palme dans la main gauche; l'ensemble dans un cercle de grénétis	gouver-nail	ROMA	115-114
18	denier	République Romaine, C.CENSORIN	Marque de contrôle dans le champ gauche illisible	Tête d'Apollon à droite	C.CENSORI		Cheval galopant à droite, la bride en dessous. Au-dessus Phi (en grec)		K	88
19	demi-as	République Romaine		Tête de Janus lauré ?						II-I

Il faut noter que l'on ne sait pas si les monnaies ont été trouvées ensemble puisqu'elles proviennent d'un pillage.

À cette liste il faut ajouter :

- 1 Victoria¹¹ en argent,
- 1 nummus¹² en bronze 318-319 apr. J.-C.

Ce lot de monnaies témoigne d'un échange important avec le monde romain.

De plus si l'on considère qu'il s'agit ici d'une partie du mobilier découvert par des pillleurs, on peut aisément penser que le nombre de monnaies qui ne nous est pas parvenu et plus important. La quantité de ce mobilier reste en grande majorité émise par la République Romaine. Notons que des monnaies en argent sont des fausses.

On peut expliquer cette forte présence monétaire par deux hypothèses: La première est liée au commerce: cela est fréquent surtout si le site est le point central de toute action économique et politique du secteur. Le second choix est l'incorporation de l'armée romaine comme renfort occasionnel ou comme soldat régulier, comme le mentionne Tite-Live¹³. De plus les corsés étaient reconnus comme des guerriers depuis le V^e siècle avant notre ère, alors recrutés comme mercenaires auprès des Carthaginois. Selon Hérodote¹⁴, ils acquièrent ainsi les connaissances nécessaires de la guerre antique.

Ces services seraient alors bénéfiques aux deux parties. Une certaine élite insulaire y gagnerait tant sur le plan financier que sur son ascension sociale dans le milieu insulaire et romain pour service rendu. L'octroi d'un statut spécifique au sein de la république romaine peut être envisagé. Pour Rome il s'agit d'un double intérêt, incorporation progressive de sociétés insulaires permettant de minimiser ces efforts militaires dans l'île et une romanisation progressive.

Les fibules de Castellu

On comptabilise pour l'heure trois fibules¹⁵ en bronze et en fer découverte sur le site, par la même équipe de pillleurs mentionnée ci-dessus (Fig. 58). Ces dernières semblent être d'une typologie dont la chronologie est fixée entre le III^e et la I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. Or

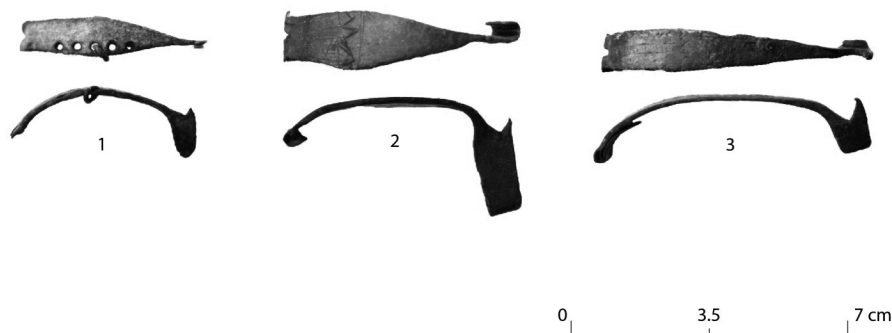


Fig. 58. Fibules provenant du site Castellu-Paomia.

ces dernières semblent aussi correspondre aux fibules dites de Sant'Appianu, dont la chronologie est située entre le V^e et le VII^e siècle de notre ère.

Les données maritime, le commerce et la Corse

Les découvertes réalisées en milieu sous-marin aident à mieux cerner la diffusion du mobilier à travers la Méditerranée. Cependant certaines informations sont déjà assez anciennes car elles datent de la période où le matériel pour plongeur autonome se démocratise. Cela engendre aussi la naissance des premières explorations du milieu sous-marin livrant alors les premières données en archéologie sous-marine. La diffusion des actions du Capitaine J.-Y. Cousteau, ne crée que des émules et les sites de faible profondeur sont littéralement pillés, parfois même dans leur totalité.

Avant d'aborder le cas des sites sous-marins de l'île, il faut souligner l'importance d'un élément lié au commerce avec la Corse. Il s'agit d'une inscription phénicienne figurant sur une stèle funéraire de Kition (Larnaca), à Chypre qui apporte une information très intéressante sur les échanges entre la Corse et la Méditerranée Orientale. Le texte, rédigé en phénicien, est daté des environs de 375 av. J.-C. L'épithaphe correspond à un homme nommé Eshmounadoni, fils d'Abdmelqart, fils de Rasapyaton, «interprète des Corses»¹⁶.

Concernant les voies de navigation, c'est à la fin du XVIII^e siècle lors de l'élaboration du plan terrier en Corse, qu'une découverte intéressante nous est parvenue. Il s'agit de notes et de dessins¹⁷ relatifs à une barque retrouvée entière lors du creusement d'un canal du Golo. Celle-ci a fait l'objet d'un relevé technique soigneusement accompli. Grâce à ce dernier, il a été possible de faire une comparaison typologique avec d'autres épaves retrouvées en Méditerranée. Il s'agit d'une barque dont les éléments architecturaux sont reliés par des tenons et des mortaises. Il est important de signaler que les articles traitant de ce site, décrivent que la barque est «cousue». Pomey¹⁸ précise que le terme bateau cousu est pris au sens large du terme, c'est-à-dire possédant au moins un élément d'assemblage par ligature. Plusieurs caractéristiques transcrites sur les documents du plan terrier de Corse, permettent de faire des rapprochements typologiques avec différentes embarcations de Méditerranée sans pour autant être sûr de sa datation et de sa provenance. La comparaison, selon Pomey (2005, 13), peut se faire avec «deux épaves espagnoles (Mazzaron), ou encore le grand Ribaud F, César 1, Jules Vernes 7 ou encore Gela 1)». La datation de la barque du Golo peut être comprise entre la seconde moitié du VII^e siècle av. J.-C. et le V^e siècle av. J.-C. Cette découverte est intéressante dans la mesure où sur la façade occidentale de l'île, le nombre d'épaves, dont la datation est antérieure au changement d'ère, est peu élevé voire quasi nul.

L'épave dite «Hellénistique» découverte en 1987 aux Sanguinaires près d'Ajaccio (Corse-du-Sud) est l'un des rares exemples. Le site gît entre 12 et 18 m de fond. Sa datation, fixée en fonction du mobilier¹⁹ archéologique, est fixée au milieu du III^e siècle ou du tout début II^e siècle av. J.C. «l'étude de quelques types particuliers d'amphores et de céramiques fines et communes, étayée par les comparaisons avec d'autres

épaves bien datées, comme celle du Grand Congloué I et d'El Lazareto, semblent circonscrire la datation du naufrage dans les toutes premières années du II^e siècle av. J.-C.²⁰. Bien que l'attribution chronologique soit approximative, la localisation de cette épave permet d'appréhender un nouveau point de connaissance sur les voies de navigation commerciales en Méditerranée. Le mobilier de cette épave est composé majoritairement d'éléments céramiques composés d'amphores rhodiennes, massaliètes, cnidiennes, puniques, greco-italique, accompagnés de lingots de cuivre ainsi que de lingots de verre de couleur bleu dont la cargaison dépasse les 550 kg.

J'ai choisi de lister dans le tableau suivant (Table 4) l'ensemble des gisements et des épaves connus pour la zone de cette étude. Sont donc signalés pour chaque site : la commune, la profondeur, la chronologie, le type de site et enfin le mobilier.

Il convient d'apporter quelques précisions sur certaines épaves. En effet, l'épave de Capu di Muru a livré une cargaison de Dressel 1B et quelques Lamboglia. H. Alfonsi précise dans son article (Alfonsi, 2004) que la masse totale des fragments déplacés et analysés lors de la fouille est supérieure à 15 tonnes. Aucun entier n'y a été découvert lors de l'opération. La datation pouvant être attribuée à cette épave est comprise autour de la seconde moitié du I^{er} siècle avant notre ère.

Les sites côtiers

Pour la chronologie de notre choix les données connues sur la façade Ouest de l'île sont au nombre de deux.

Le premier, le port de Calvi (Calvi, Haute-Corse), pour lequel les travaux de Allegrini-Simonetti sont les seuls à regrouper un bon nombre d'information. L'abri originel qu'offre l'ensemble géographique de ce lieu est fréquenté aux environs du VII^e avant notre ère, datation proposée par du mobilier grec, dont un pied de coupe attique. Trois cols d'amphores sont aussi présents et appartiennent à trois aires de production hellénique (Allegrini-Simonetti 2001, 34). Le premier élément est de provenance chalcidienne, il s'agit d'une amphore archaïque «à la brosse».avec une datation comprise entre la fin du VII^e et la fin du VI^e avant notre ère. Un second pied d'amphore, selon toujours le même auteur est à rapprocher des productions corinthiennes ou corcyriennes. Il spécifie qu'il pourrait s'agir d'une production des ateliers de Lesbos avec une datation située entre le VI^e ou le V^e avant notre ère. On note aussi la présence de mobilier étrusque, représenté par des fragments d'amphores. Ce dernier se présente sous la forme d'un col et de deux anses, que le chercheur apparente aux formes 3C ou 5. Il leur attribue une chronologie variant entre la fin du VI^e et le milieu du IV^e siècle avant J.-C. Il faut noter que la différence entre les formes 3C et 5 est assez flagrante tant qu'au niveau de la taille qu'au niveau des formes.

Les éléments céramique et amphorique émis sous la république romaine sont beaucoup plus nombreux. Mais il faut retenir que les découvertes ont toutes été faites

Table 4: Tableau synthétisant les données issues des sites sous-marins.

	Commune	Profondeur	Chronologie	Type	Mobilier
Capu di Muru	Coti-Chiavari	-6 à -20m	I ^{er} av. J.-C.	Epave	Dressel 1B et lamboglia 2
Sanguinaires A	Ajaccio	-12 à -18m	III ^e - II ^e av. J.-C.	Epave	Lingots de verre et de cuivre Amphores, grecque, punique et italique, Céramiques fines grecques et italiques.
Sanguinaire B	Ajaccio	-8m	I ^{er} av. J.-C.	?	Lingots de plombs de production ibérique. (mines de la Sierra Carthagène) ¹
Capu Rossu	Piana	-90m	I ^{er} av. J.-C. I ^{er} apr. J.-C.	?	Amphores Dressel 2-4.
Rusaghju	Osani	-35m	I ^{er} av. J.-C. I ^{er} apr. J.-C.	?	Amphore Dressel Dressel 9.
Gattaghia	Osani	-15m	II ^e -III ^e siècles av. J.-C.	?	Amphores Lamboglia 4
Genisse/ Linaghia	Osani	-30m	I ^{er} av. J.-C.	Epave ?	<i>tegulae et imbrex</i> .
Punta di Spano	Calvi	-28m	III ^e -I ^{er} siècles av. J.-C.	?	Amphores greco italique ou Dresel 1A.
Algajola 1	Algajola	-12 à -27m	II ^e -I ^{er} av. J.-C.	?	Amphore Dressel 1A.
Algajola II	Algajola	?	II ^e -I ^{er} av. J.-C	Epave	Amphores Dressel 1A, 6 jas d'ancre, 76 lingots de plombs
Vallitone	Corbara	-6 m	I ^{er} av. J.-C. I ^{er} apr. J.-C.	Epave	Amphores Lamboglia 2 et Dressel 6.
Giunchettu	Corbara	-6m	I ^{er} av. J.-C. I ^{er} apr. J.-C.	Epave	Amphore Lamboglia 2/4
Île Rousse	Île Rousse E	-8m	II ^e -I ^{er} av. J.-C.	Gisement	Amphore Dressel 1A, 2-4, et autres tardives.
Île Rousse	Île Rousse D	-3m	II ^e -I ^{er} av. J.-C	?	Amphore Dressel 1
Marina de Malfalco	Santo-Pietro-di-Tenda	-1 à -12m	II ^e -I ^{er} av. J.-C	Gisement	Amphore Dressel 1 A ou C et productions africaines.
Punta di Curza	Santo-Pietro-di-Tenda	-5 à -20m	I ^{er} av. J.-C. I ^{er} apr. J.-C.	?	Amphore Dressel 2-4 Tarraconaise.

¹Les mines se situent près de Murcie. Une analyse isotopique a pu déterminer cette provenance



Fig. 59. Vue de la baie de Girolata depuis le Capu Muzellu.

en milieu sous-marin. Le proche secteur terrestre du port n'a pour l'heure, livré aucune documentation archéologique de cette période. On note la forte présence d'amphore de types Greco-Italique que l'auteur, a mentionné ci-dessus et distingué en deux groupes. De plus la présence de céramique campanienne est aussi bien représentée avec un total de dix éléments répartis sous trois formes. Il s'agit de trois bols, de deux coupes et d'assiettes. Les éléments sont de type céramique campanienne A et B. La présence d'amphore italique de type Dressel 1A et 1C est attestée.

Le second et le site de Girolata (Fig. 59) (Osani, Corse-du-Sud), a livré différents éléments, notamment amphorique, relatifs à l'Antiquité dans la baie et sur la butte en arrière de la plage. En 2011, une équipe du D.R.A.S.S.M²¹, menée par Cibecchini, a initié l'étude de la baie et a inventorié le mobilier récupéré sous l'eau par des pêcheurs. Ce mobilier a été récupéré au fil des années ce qui induit qu'il s'agit d'une approche partielle de l'occupation antique de la baie. Notons qu'une amphore de type gréco-italique est présentée dans ce lot ; elle paraît isolée, compte tenu de l'absence d'éléments contemporains de cette dernière. Celle-ci possède une chronologie située entre le III^e et le II^e siècle avant notre ère, provenant des productions tyrrhéniennes: Latium-Campanie (Cibecchini 2011, 47). Le mobilier compte une amphore supplémentaire, dont la provenance dans la baie reste une interrogation. Il s'agit d'une Dressel 12, 50 av. J.-C., similaire à celle de l'épave du Titan (Var). Elle provient sûrement du golfe de Girolata, d'où elle aurait été récupérée dans des filets de pêcheurs (Cibecchini 2011, 47). C'est au cours du chantier école MoMArch qui s'est déroulé du 24 mars au 5 avril 2014 sous la direction de Cibecchini, que l'occupation de la baie a pu être mieux documentée. En ce qui concerne l'époque antique, le mobilier découvert provient principalement de l'Afrique romaine. La découverte de fragments de céramique campanienne à pâte rouge permet d'exclure l'isolement de l'amphore de type gréco-italique.

Girolata recèle plusieurs occupations antiques en amont de la plage découvertes lors de la prospection réalisée au cours de l'année 2014. La plus intéressante est celle

de la butte située dans la plaine à quelques mètres de la plage. Ce gisement avait une chronologie fixée entre le III^e siècle apr. J.-C. et le IV^e voire V^e de notre ère. Cependant, cette fourchette chronologique est remise en question par la découverte de mobilier²² suggérant une occupation entre le I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. et le VII^e apr. J.-C. Cette occupation est essentiellement documentée par du mobilier amphorique observé en surface ou par le mobilier²³ recueilli par des amateurs. Les vestiges d'une chapelle ruinée sont aussi à signaler sur la partie sommitale de la butte.

Conclusion

Les recherches de terrain ont permis de constituer un corpus de sites fiable, avec de nouveaux vestiges découverts dans une micro-région souvent délaissée par les archéologues.

Pour mener à bien ce travail, j'ai été confronté à différentes difficultés, qu'il convient de signaler. D'une part, c'est l'éloignement des sites, puisque dans la majorité des cas, il faut entreprendre plusieurs heures de marche sans suivre de sentier mais arpenter le maquis. Les conditions climatiques sont rarement propices, les sites se situent dans des zones qui sont très rapidement enneigées en hiver, en été la chaleur et les risques d'incendies handicapent la marche; la saison la plus propice reste le printemps.

Cette recherche s'inscrit dans la continuité de mon travail thématique entrepris en 2013 sur l'occupation durant l'âge du Fer de la région Ouest. Ce sujet m'a permis de proposer une méthode qui permet de mieux cerner les sites qui compose le maillage des occupations étudiées. Ainsi, il ne suffit plus de se limiter à l'échelle du site, mais en examinant les vestiges mobiliers et immobiliers, il est aujourd'hui possible d'identifier les fortifications «maîtresses». Ces sites se situent à des intervalles réguliers, d'environ 8 kilomètres (au moins trois par secteur). Ils se caractérisent par la présence d'enceinte(s), respectant une même technique de construction sur des positions orographiques bien définies, mais également par la découverte de céramique d'importation. Cet élément est certainement un facteur discriminant permettant d'identifier ces sites à des fortifications secondaires qui sont présentes autour des sites principaux. Parvenir à identifier ces sites n'a pas été une chose facile. En effet, il fallait prendre en considération l'ensemble des sites de la zone d'étude, et pour étudier ces sites j'ai été confronté à différents problèmes liés notamment à la chronologie d'occupation et à l'absence de vestiges mobiliers. Au cours des différentes prospections menées sur le territoire centre-occidentale de l'île, il a été possible de noter que dès le changement d'ère, les implantations antiques se déplacent en zone de plaine. Ces sites sont le plus souvent observés sous la forme de gisement de mobilier, de superficie réduite, dans la majorité des cas, avec une absence totale de céramique locale.

L'identification de sept fortifications est aussi l'amorce d'une nouvelle lecture des données du géographe Claude Ptolémée. En effet, les sept sites semblent correspondre aux villes signalées par le géographe. Ce travail d'identification a attiré de nombreux chercheurs sans que des conclusions tangibles soient fournies.

Le rapprochement de ces sept fortifications avec les villes signalées par Ptolémée permet de poursuivre et d'appuyer le propos sur l'existence d'une sectorisation micro-régionale s'appuyant sur une trame probablement archaïque. Néanmoins, une question reste posée : la perduration des sites jusqu'à l'Antiquité tardive ne vient-elle pas montrer que la sectorisation est encore effective, et qu'il s'agit de l'embryon des Pieve, circonscriptions religieuses insulaires, alors réactivées au début du second Moyen Âge?

Le mobilier observé sur le terrain ou par le biais de photographies tend à démontrer l'importance et la richesse de ce dernier. Les *Corsi* de l'âge du Fer semblent être une population n'ayant importé dans un premier temps que les matières premières qui leur étaient nécessaires à la confection d'objets spécifiques tels que les perles de verre, l'étain pour le bronze et certainement du cuivre. Ces objets devaient être attribués à un certain rang social. Au cours du second âge du Fer, les importations de mobilier céramique et amphorique de production majoritairement italique explosent notamment avec les typologies Greco-Italique et Dressel 1. La hiérarchisation des sites devient alors plus flagrante et semble mettre en place une élite désireuse de produits d'importation, signe d'un pouvoir et d'une richesse certaine, entièrement italique pour ne pas dire entièrement romanisée, sans toutefois abandonner sa propre culture. La quantité de monnaies frappées par la République romaine découverte sur le site de Castellu-Paomia vient mettre en évidence mes propos. L'absence de mobilier punique sur les sites étudiés se fait remarquer, à l'exception de l'épave des sanguinaires A. Les sites sous-marins ou côtiers n'offrent pour l'heure qu'une brève image du trafic maritime de la façade occidentale de l'île qui semble être plus importante que ce qui était suggéré.

Au cours du second âge du Fer on peut s'apercevoir que l'espace insulaire connaît une évolution de la gestion de ses espaces. Les résultats de la présente étude mettent en évidence la présence de plusieurs sites de types fortifications contemporaines et de même compositions qui pourraient «contrôler» ou gérer un territoire au sein duquel se trouvent des sites secondaires notamment par leur superficie réduite et le mobilier essentiellement de production locale.

L'habitat du second âge du Fer subit donc des changements radicaux, du moins sur certains sites résultant d'une évolution poussée par les bouleversements géopolitiques de la Méditerranée. Mais on peut désormais se poser la question sur les raisons qui insufflent cette mutation donnant lieu à une certaine acculturation des populations indigènes insulaires, sans qu'elles rejettent entièrement leur culture. Deux réponses seraient alors envisageables:

- Division interne des peuples insulaires, naissance de pro-romain, créant l'évolution d'une élite déjà en place,
- Mutation des systèmes de gestions traditionnelles, vers une organisation plus récente, à des fins économiques et sociaux.

L'exemple attestant ce changement radical et brutal est la forme de l'habitat qui se présente à l'âge du Fer sous une forme architecturale quasi-préhistorique alors que dès la fin du IV^e voir le début du III^e siècle avant notre ère les sites sont dotés

de structures qui nécessitent des techniques de construction plus élaborées pour permettre l'emploi de tegulae.

Une chose est certaine, l'implantation de puniques sur cette partie de l'île au cours des guerres Puniques débutant au III^e siècle av. J.-C. n'est pour l'heure pas encore observée, si toutefois elle a lieu. Le fait qu'au II^e siècle de notre ère le géographe Claude Ptolémée mentionne douze populations ou communautés insulaires, est un fait très marquant signalant des divisions internes que l'archéologie peut parvenir à cerner.

La romanisation de l'île ne semblait débiter qu'avec l'apparition de la Colonie de Mariana au I^{er} siècle avant notre ère, avec l'intégration des populations insulaires qu'à partir de la première moitié du I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C. notamment sous le règne de Claude (Michel 2011). Toutefois, il semble probable que les villes indigènes, même si elles sont romanisées, soient administrées de la République au début de l'Empire par les colonies de Mariana et Aleria. Afin de parvenir à comprendre les processus directeurs de cette romanisation une étude des sites d'Aleria et de Mariana est indispensable. Il est aujourd'hui nécessaire de faire une relecture des travaux entrepris et de les poursuivre en intégrant à ces colonies l'existence de sites qui s'organisent de manière réfléchie au sein de micro-région où les processus internes de fonctionnement ne sont pas encore définis.

Notes

- 1 A lire notamment Cesari et *al.* 2012, 66–70.
- 2 Selon Petrus Cynæus, il s'agirait de son premier nom ou surnom. A ce sujet consulter Mathieu-Castellani 2004.
- 3 Pour cela consulter notamment Galletti 1863, 308–309.
- 4 Sarcophage exposé au musée du Vatican Pio-Clementio.
- 5 Pour plus d'information consulter David 1999, 70 et 245.
- 6 Jehasse 2003, 216.
- 7 Je préfère nommer ces sites *castelli* plutôt que *oppida* au vu du contexte particulier de l'île.
- 8 Il faut signaler que le sondage 2 a révélé la présence d'une tour médiévale du XIII^e siècle. Aucun mobilier de surface ni documentation ancienne ne laissait présager cette découverte. Le sondage se situe sur la partie sommitale du site, il s'agissait de la seule structure observable employant un liant de mortier de chaux.
- 9 L'âge du Fer en Corse débute vers 1000 avant J.-C., cependant il est accordé que cette période se termine avec la conquête de l'île par les romains à la fin du III^e siècle avant J.-C.
- 10 Conservateur-Restaurateur, numismatique et médailles.
- 11 Découverte au cours de l'opération de 2013 (Mary 2013b) a été découvert une Victoria en argent, monnaie identifiée RVT-53-1 (Feugère et Py 2011, 441). La datation proposée est de 211/200 av. J.-C. cette monnaie est certainement créée à la fin du III^e siècle, elle a une valeur de ¼ de denier. La monnaie lors de sa découverte était recouverte d'un oxyde cuivreux, ce qui montre qu'elle est fourrée.
- 12 Ce dernier aurait été découvert sur le site, mais seules une photo de l'avant et du revers me sont parvenues. L'étude a été faite par J. Françoise. Emise sous Constantin I^{er} frappé à l'atelier d'Arles quatrième officine datée de 318–319 après J.-C. Droit/IMP CONSTA-NTINVS AVG Buste casqué et lauré à droite, avec cuirasse, vu de trois quarts en avant. Revers/VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP Deux Victoires debout face à face, posant sur un autel un bouclier sur lequel

- est inscrit VOT/PR en deux lignes. L'autel est composé d'un rectangle sans décoration sur la face. Exergue/ TARL Réf : P. Ferrando, *L'atelier monétaire d'Arles de Constantin le Grand à Romulus Augustule*, 313-476, 109-110, n°395. Saint-Just-la-Pendue, 2010. ou RIC 191.
- 13 Jehasse 2003, 163.
 - 14 Jehasse 2003, 163.
 - 15 Les photographies d'origines ont été retouchées et la qualité améliorée. Sources L. Casanova assistant ingénieur, Service Régionale de l'Archéologie de Corse.
 - 16 Voir Michel (2011, 39).
 - 17 Note complémentaire sur les lingots peau de bœuf et la navigation en Méditerranée, projet collectif de recherche Mariana et la vallée du golo, université d'automne. Schiavo, F. L. Dossier de Presse, II^e colloque international, Séminaire de formation 15-18 septembre 2005, 11-12. Istituto di studi dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente (ICEVO) del CNR.
 - 18 Note sur les «bateaux cousus» de méditerranée de l'époque archaïque et l'épave du Golo, Projet collectif de recherche Mariana et la vallée du golo, université d'automne. Pomey, P. Dossier de Presse, II^e colloque international, Séminaire de formation 15-18 septembre 2005, 13. Centre Camille Julian, CNRS-Université de Provence, Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme.
 - 19 Cibecchini et al. (2012) NOUVELLES CONSIDÉRATIONS SUR LA CARGAISON DE L'ÉPAVE SANGUINAIRES A (AJACCIO, CORSE DU SUD): La découverte d'une monnaie de bronze à l'effigie de Ptolémée III Evergète (246-221 av. J.-C.) ou de Ptolémée IV Philopator (211-204 av. J.-C.) a permis de circonscrire la datation du gisement à la seconde moitié du III^e siècle av. J.-C.
 - 20 Cibecchini et al. (2012)
 - 21 Département des Recherches archéologiques subaquatiques et sous-marines (ministère de la culture et de la communication).
 - 22 Mary, J.-B. (2014) *Rapport de prospections-inventaire diachronique, Commune de Partinellu, Osani et Ota (Corse-du-Sud)*. Service Régionale de l'Archéologie de Corse.
 - 23 Il s'agit d'amphore de type, Dressel 1C, Ostia XXIII Africaine 2C Key 55a, Sidi Jdidi 2 amphore type 55. On note aussi la présence de sigillée, qui pour le moment n'ont pas fait l'objet d'une découverte d'une forme entière pouvant être comparée à une typologie. On note aussi la présence de céramique médiévale de type majolique archaïque monochrome datable du XIV^e-XV^e siècle.

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Chapter 10

Conclusion

Swii Yii Lim

Both identity and insularity are topics whose adequate treatment would command separate monographs, let alone considering the two together. Identity and its formation, whether at the individual or group level, are by nature complex and multivalent dynamic processes, rather than static states, defying easy explanation. Likewise, insularity proves to be equally slippery once unpicked: whilst on the one hand concrete geographic units bounded by water (islands), bringing theoretical pressure to bear on 'islandness' as a concept reveals its underlying complexity. Living on an island and being an islander are not one and the same. This volume draws together a collection of papers with the express goal of tackling these two concepts in tandem, based on the recognition that insularity and identity in the Roman world were inextricably linked, and that 'island identity' is by no means transparent or straightforward.

The inherent complexity of the task at hand is evident in the diverse approaches taken by the authors of this volume. Whilst due in part to the diversity of the Mediterranean islands themselves, the thematic range covered – from the economic to the religious – as well as the application of both theory and archaeological fieldwork in more than a few of these papers, highlight the potential for wide-ranging, interdisciplinary analysis.

Gordon's paper on Cyprus revises the long-held view of the island as a Roman provincial backwater. Instead, Gordon demonstrates that Cyprus was a hyper-connected meeting point where multiple influences fed into the formation of identities on the island. By focusing on island archaeologies, Gordon draws on innovative theoretical approaches to show how the Roman material remains reveal a diversity of local identities – a diversity that may have been overlooked due to the notions of insularity imposed by scholars and the perspective of the literary sources. To begin, he rightly points out that the size of the island matters: Cyprus as a *megali nesos* meant that people inhabiting different places on the island experienced insularity differently. Its large size also resulted in geographical diversity, which sustained a variety of

economic and cultural lifestyles. This allowed the island a degree of self-sufficiency, especially when coupled with its strategic location and place in Mediterranean trade networks. Cyprus, Gordon argues, could thus be an active agent in manipulating its geographic advantages and connectivity in periods of peace, but could also fall back on self-reliance in more turbulent times. This allowed the island to be connected to, but not dominated by, greater political forces. As a result, Cyprus was able to transform from a militarily important outpost pre-conquest into an economically strategic, hyper-connected crossroads in the imperial period. Gordon then examines a range of archaeological evidence for connectivity, starting with shipwrecks – of which there are very few – to connect seascapes and landscapes, and identifies participation in trading networks and connection to the mainland. He also identifies ‘coastscales’ as well, where ports served as nodes linking the sea to those in the island’s hinterland, thus providing liminal places where the Roman Mediterranean and hinterland interacted. He also looks at coins, sculptures, and architecture to identify insularity and expressions of local identity. The results are quite rich: coins reveal the presence of micro-regional differences and identities; religious sculptures seem to show a mixed cultural character in more outward-looking towns (*e.g.* Nea Paphos’ Aphrodite Armata); and the architecture reveals greater insularity inland versus the hyper-connected coast. Ultimately, rather than being dismissed as a cultural boondocks, Cyprus’ large size – and hence abundant natural resources – and its participation in the exchange networks of the Roman Empire led to different islandscapes, with different identities within the island. Coupled with Roman political disinterest during the imperial period, the inhabitants of Cyprus were able to construct their own distinct identities during the Roman period.

In the next paper on Crete, Kouremenos attempts to understand what defined Cretan insularity and identity during the Roman period, especially in contrast to the 8th to 7th c. BC Crete of epic tradition. She shows how Crete was partly defined by its economic wealth, as well as its cultural capital based on a mythical past. Geography, she argues, played an important role in shaping the economic identity of Roman Crete. The mountain range dividing the middle of the island led to sub-cultures, but it was the abundant natural resources that defined the economy and insularity of Crete in the Roman period. Goods included olives and olive oil, apicultural products, purple dye, and wine, all produced and exported before the Roman conquest. What Roman rule brought was increased connectivity, which had profound implications for the economic and social makeup of the island. Being part of the empire resulted in more trade, and Crete was able to export greater volumes of goods via the enlarged trade network, to farther places than before. Increased commerce brought greater wealth to the inhabitants and an accompanying increase in euergetic activity – all of which was facilitated by social reform under the Romans that did away with the pre-Roman communal social system and allowed for the rise of elite landowners. In addition to its natural wealth, Crete also boasted a rich mythological past. The importance of tourism as a major source of revenue in the Roman period meant that non-Cretans played

an influential role in defining local identity. Outsiders visiting Crete with a glorified view of its past attributed mythical qualities to the island – a type of ‘cultural capital’ that individual cities capitalised on by promoting mythological places and figures on their coinage, for example. Older motifs such as the Cretan *labrys* also diversified in meaning and geographic compass as depictions spread across the empire, appearing on a wider range of artifacts than before, and disseminating Cretan culture abroad. Despite being an island, Crete was certainly not insular during the Roman period. Instead, Kouremenos demonstrates how Crete built upon its existing economic and cultural base to flourish in the Roman period despite significant social changes.

Looking at the Northern Sporades, Ginalis traces a shift from insularity in the Roman Republican period to ‘islandness’ during the imperial period. He draws upon Cyprian Broodbank’s work and differentiates between ‘analytical’ and ‘perceived’ islands, where the former think of themselves not as marooned islands but connected loci, whereas the latter conceive of and experience insularity as a result of perceived isolation from the mainland. This theoretical tack is especially relevant given the proximity of the three main islands – Skiathos, Skopelos, and Alonnesos – to the Thessalian coast, and highlights how the insularity and identity of islands are ‘closely connected with the notion of where the island ends and where the continent begins’. According to the literary sources, the Northern Sporades were of military importance and key to Roman expansionism to the East during the Republican period. The written sources also suggest a high degree of insularity and independent identity as an attempt to preserve self-sustainability. In contrast, during the imperial period the islands were able to expand agricultural output beyond self-sustenance and participate in wider Mediterranean economic networks, which in turn altered their understanding of their insularity. The ceramic evidence, Ginalis points out, also seems to support the written sources. The geographical advantages the Northern Sporades held as a military gateway during the Republican period thus gradually transformed into economic participation under the Roman Empire and shaped the islanders’ identity vis-à-vis the perception of connectivity. By examining this transformation, Ginalis captures the polyvalence of insularity as an analytic term, one in which islands can serve as locations for both isolation and connection.

In her paper on the Ionian Islands, Zoumbaki traces the formation of identity in the Roman period by identifying the scale of Roman impact and the presence of western individuals on the Ionian Islands. The Ionian Islands are an interesting geographical case, and Zoumbaki takes pains to orient the reader accordingly. The islands’ proximity to the mainland and centrality to maritime routes across the Ionian and Adriatic seas meant that their view of their own ‘insularity’ might not, in fact, have been terribly insular given the high levels of connectivity even prior to the arrival of the Romans. It is also important to note that the Ionian Islands may constitute a geographical whole, but the group was not a unity and never shared a common political identity. Instead, they were more connected to the Greek mainland, and had to negotiate a shifting set of relations amongst themselves as well as with the

mainland. Furthermore, Roman interaction with each island was also not uniform, both in terms of chronology and treatment, nor did the Romans consider the islands a unity when governing. With this in mind, the author treats each island individually before drawing general conclusions. What the ceramic and shipwreck evidence shows is that the islands participated in wider trade and maritime networks, and were able to exploit their land resources and their geographical location at the crossroads of several maritime routes. The gradual integration of Roman material culture into local society, Zoumbaki suggests, can be seen as the presence of western foreigners or signs of acculturation as native inhabitants adapted to Roman rule. The inhabitants of the Ionian Islands were long used to change and adaptation though, and seem to continue the process of ongoing adaptation even when the Romans transformed the Mediterranean into '*mare nostrum*'.

Cultic worship was another area in which islanders could express local identity. Taking the cult of Silvanus in the central Adriatic islands as a case study, Dzino explains why visual representations of the deity differ markedly in Dalmatia compared to elsewhere in the Roman Empire. Dzino has previously argued that Silvanus in Dalmatia was an invented tradition actively negotiated between the indigenous population and Greco-Italian settlers (Dzino 2012a); this paper further develops the theme against the backdrop of a global Mediterranean empire. The evidence of worship from Hvar and Brač are of particular interest to Dzino, who uses the islands' representation of Silvanus as Greek Pan to illustrate both local cultic practice and the inhabitants' connections to the Dalmatian mainland. The material, he notes, seems to reveal 'locality rather than insularity'. Connectivity is expressed here as a means through which the Adriatic islanders were able to exchange ideas and participate in the creation of their own form of religious expression, rooted in local tradition.

Anastasi explores the relationship between Maltese identity and industry in the Late Punic through to the Roman period, and demonstrates that economic production and the production of identity are interrelated. Malta was known in antiquity for its textile production, but this has proven difficult to trace archaeologically despite written attestation by ancient authors. Instead, Anastasi draws upon the latest ceramic evidence to identify other potential agricultural products – namely olive oil and wine – that could have been exported in exchange for grain. Her analysis of the fine-ware assemblages is also revealing: despite having access to imported fine wares during the Punic and the Roman periods, the inhabitants of the Maltese islands chose to manufacture and use their own local table wares instead. Given the islands' productive capabilities, such an act was not due to a lack of purchasing power or opportunity, but a deliberate choice that sustained local identity.

Roppa uses the theoretical concept of insularity to understand Sardinian identity. Roppa demonstrates that an insular perspective on Sardinia is untenable from the Iron Age onwards, as insularity needs to be understood within the context of Mediterranean connectivity. This view is strongly supported by the archaeological evidence, given the amount and provenance of imported goods found on Sardinia, and

the trading sites established by foreigners on the island. In the Punic to Republican periods, Sardinia's insularity (*i.e.* geographical location) allowed the islanders to take advantage of trade and maritime networks, as well as maintain previous cultural links to the Punic world by ongoing contact with North Africa. Rather than simply local resistance to Roman culture, Roppa offers a more nuanced picture that demonstrates how the persistence of previous Punic traditions gradually transformed during the Roman period as the urban and rural communities were able to participate in the wider networks of the Roman world.

Despite being fairly sizeable, Corsica is frequently overlooked by archaeologists. Mary's contribution is thus a welcome example of archaeological fieldwork for an understudied island. Mary has undertaken field surveying – often in difficult conditions – and identified the main sites mentioned in the literary sources, as well as rural settlement hierarchies and changes in settlement patterns on Corsica from the pre-Roman into the Roman period. Work on the ceramic evidence, where there is a high proportion of imported ceramics (Greco-Italic and Dressel 1), may possibly indicate the social aspirations of indigenous inhabitants who had adopted some Roman customs without abandoning their own culture. The numismatic evidence seems to be explained by commerce or by the presence of the Roman army, whereas trade contact is attested by shipwrecks, but examples are rare. Based on the archaeological material, Mary proposes two models explaining how Corsica's local population managed to acculturate without entirely rejecting their own culture:

1. The internal division of the native inhabitants and the birth of pro-Romans in subsequent generations resulted in a gradual evolution with an elite already in place, or
2. The mutation of traditional management systems towards a newer form of organisation for strategic purposes.

Overall, Romanisation appears to have begun with the colony of Mariana in the 1st c. BC, with integration of island populations from the first half of the 1st c. AD. Regardless of whether one agrees with Mary's conclusions, the fieldwork results alone offer a valuable contribution.

Future Directions

What all these papers encapsulate is how identity is not static, but rather the result of a dynamic process of engagement. It is also geographically specific: all of these islands may have been constituents of the Roman Mediterranean, but all followed different historical and cultural trajectories, and all started with different sets of resources at their disposal. Introducing insularity into the discussion adds another layer of complexity, one which hopefully enriches our thinking and approach, rather than obfuscates it. So: where to go from here?

Firstly, as several papers illustrate, continued use of the archaeological evidence is key to revising some of the previously held scholarly views, especially perspectives that have been unduly influenced by ideological bias or the worldview of the Romans themselves. In addition to using the literary evidence, all of the papers here draw on several sources of material evidence: numismatics, ceramics, shipwrecks, sculpture, etc. Gordon's paper on Cyprus demonstrates how the Roman view of Cyprus as a sleepy provincial island may have percolated into scholarly discourse and subsequent disinterest in the seemingly generic Roman-period remains, when a careful look at the archaeology reveals instead a variety of differentiated island micro-niches and identities. In other cases, such as Mary's paper, more fieldwork and surveying need to be undertaken. Continued emphasis on archaeology's contribution will hopefully drive further fieldwork on individual islands, like Mary has done with Corsica.

How we use the archaeology is also important. In addition to deploying as wide a range of archaeological evidence as sensible, the most useful discussions in this volume have drawn strongly on theory, backed up by close analysis of archaeological examples. This alliance with theory is needed to develop new ways of looking at and understanding the archaeological evidence available; to help define and refine what is meant by concepts like identity and insularity; and to identify what these two concepts might look like expressed in the archaeological record.

On a related note, terms need careful definition. It is not always entirely clear what one means by 'insularity', for instance. As Kouremenos rightly notes, insularity can mean either the state of being an island or a state of isolation, and there has been no consistent interpretation or application of the term in this volume. This point is not meant as a criticism or a descent into an argument over semantics. Part of the strength of employing 'insularity' and 'identity' is the opportunity it offers for multiple approaches and multifaceted interpretations. Nonetheless, if fruitful dialogue is to continue, the continued refinement of semantics is needed so participants do not accidentally end up speaking at cross purposes. And though it is important to set out clearly defined terms, it is equally important to not whitewash complexity out of the equation.

Finally, diversity matters, as does complexity. One of the biggest strengths of thinking about insularity and identity together is the latitude it affords, as thematic and as heuristic categories. Insularity and identity are complicated concepts, and it is important not to lose sight of the inherent complexity even whilst trying to identify and explain broader trends. To take insularity as an example: from a geographical standpoint, islands may share the common trait of being landmasses surrounded by water, but even from the selection of islands covered here, there are some significant differences. Size, for example, is important. Large islands like Crete and Cyprus are akin to mini-continents, with a wider range of economic resources at their disposal. Consequently, they face different challenges than smaller islands with fewer natural resources available for self-sufficiency and trade, and different opportunities when incorporated into wider networks of communication and exchange. Also, islands – and

island groups – all have different relationships to their mainland, to each other, and to their hinterland. The sheer range of island types represented in this volume is testament to the geographical diversity found in the Mediterranean – and with this diversity comes specificity of place. Each island provides a unique picture, a different facet and variation on the broader theme of insularity. The key, it seems, is to understand and explain the themes without abandoning or ignoring the underlying diversity, and any future work needs to embrace this complexity.

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